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Turkish Foreign Minister's Visit Praised

AU0608151688 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 6 Aug 88

["Visit That Serves the Consolidation of Albanian-Turkish Relations—Article from the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 6 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an article on the visit of the foreign minister of Turkey, Mesut Yilmaz to Albania. It says among others:

The Albanian people welcomed with pleasure the visit to our country of the foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey, Mesut Yilmaz, and followed with great interest the talks that the Turkish foreign minister had with top personalities of our country. The successful completion of the visit is another testimony to a further development in the consolidation of the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries and to the perspectives opened to them in the future. The close fraternal links between the Albanian people and the Turkish people are an expression of that policy of good-neighborliness that the government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and that of the Republic of Turkey have pursued and are pursuing.

The friendly relations between the Albanian people and the Turkish one have a traditional basis. They have evaluated the struggle and efforts of each other for peace, freedom and progress. The Albanian people have a special admiration and respect for the outstanding personality and statesman, the founder of the new democratic Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. They have recognized the feelings of goodwill of Kemal Ataturk, who supported powerfully every progressive and democratic movement going on in Albania at that time and denounced with hatred and indignation the establishment of the monarchic regime of the King Zog. Our unforgettable leader Comrade Enver Hoxha has evaluated highly the figure and deed of Kemal Ataturk who liberated Turkey and its valiant people from the complex of enslaving other peoples which characterized the Sultan's Empire, consolidated the unity and genuine independence of the Turkish nation and set Turkey on the course of democracy and progress.

The strengthening of the economic relations between Albania and Turkey is as well a materialisation of this policy of confidence, understanding and mutual and perspective cooperation. The expansion of these relations creates a broad and more secure basis for a greater cooperation between our two peoples and states.

The development of cooperation between Albania and Turkey serves the further strengthening of good-neigborliness, the promotion of sincere cooperation between the Balkan countries. This development of bilateral relations between Albania and Turkey, as countries of this region, is a sound and secure basis for peace and stability in the Balkans.

Evaluating the visit and the results of the talks of the Turkish foreign minister in Albania, we express the belief that what has been achieved up to now will be further promoted in the common interest, that the friendly and fraternal relations will be further consolidated, serving the understanding and cooperation in the Balkans and broader in Europe.

Illegal Expansion of Personal Plots Criticized

AU0308122188 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 30 Jul 88 p 1

[Llazar Parangoni article: "The 'Boundaries' of the Plots"]

[Text] Cooperativist families also have an area of land for their personal use which, according to district (lowland or highland, above or below the water supply), we have become used to calling their "plot." From the collectivization of agriculture down to the present day, the "boundaries" of these plots have been continually shrinking, and these plots are heading toward extinction. Because the common cooperative economy is always better fulfilling cooperativists' needs, this reduction in the size of plots has occurred on the cooperativists' own initiative. Yet here and there cases occur where these "boundaries" are moved in order to expand the plot.

We still remember, and can cite as an example, a case before the social court that was heard a few months ago in the agricultural cooperative of the town of Kavaje. This is what happened. The cooperativist Idajet Kasa had occupied a dunam of the cooperative's land without permission, surrounded it with a fence, and planted beans. As we were told by Agim Hovi, manager of the cooperative, Idajet was summoned to the cooperative board after the site had been inspected, and was told to give up this land, because it did not belong to him and was not granted to him by statute. He did not agree. The party and cooperative authorities then took up the problem. In the end, the case went to the People's Court, and extended social court proceedings were conducted, because there were also cases of moving plot "boundaries" elsewhere. After a verdict was reached, it was decided that the cooperativist Idajet Kasa should surrender his unfairly usurped land, because he had violated the cooperative's statutes.

Why did this matter go as far as social court proceedings? Discussing this matter with some Democratic Front activists in this cooperative shows us that the correct procedures were followed. What happens in some cases? When extended families divide into smaller units, the plot must be divided among them. In the above-mentioned case, this had not happened, and the cooperativists themselves criticized and condemned this as a

breach of cooperativist democracy. Such an attitude was not maintained in the Maminas agricultural cooperative. The director of the plan sector of this cooperative, Ferik Bici, told us that "The gardens of cooperativists are sometimes inspected, and occasional cases where their "boundaries have been expanded are noticed. The situation is reported, but not even the village people's councils take any measures...."

We also investigated this problem in the agricultural cooperative of Gorre in Lushnje District. This is what Nikoll Ndoni, its chairman, said to us: "Our cooperativists do not have this tendency. They want a little bit of land around their houses to plant vegetables, a grapevine, and the occasional fruit tree, according to taste. The cooperative is responding well to increased demands with its small herds and fields. The size of plots has also been checked here, but no 'boundaries' have been moved." The situation is similar elsewhere in this district. This is a very positive fact, and is very significant for this district, which launched the initiatives for agrarian reform and the collectivization of agriculture, and later that to restrict personal plots as well. How different from this example is the behavior of a cooperativist in Fushe Kruje, who blithely moves his fence an inch one day and a yard the next. He does this because nobody says to him: "What are you up to? By moving your fence, you have claimed more land than the statute allows you."

Thus, we come across the social problem of apathy, which expresses itself in such excuses as, "The heavens will not fall because of an inch of land. The cooperative will not even notice it." But it is a question of not only of that "inch of land," but of the way such things are done, and of the silence preserved by both the cooperative management and the people's council. The movement of a fence does not increase prosperity, and nor do the plots that belong to every member of the cooperative. Prosperity is increased by the common labor of the cooperative, by protecting common property, and strengthening the cooperativist economy.

Districts Report Wheat Harvest, Other Results

AU0608152388 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 28 July publishes on pages one and two a 700-word letter addressed to Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, by the Tirana District AWP Committee and People's Council Executive Committee, in which they report that the wheat production plan was exceeded by 7 percent, with an excess production of 10,000 quintals. The average yield attained was 33.4 quintals per hectare, compared with a planned 31.9 quintals per hectare. An average yield of 50 quintals per hectare was attained in the zone designated for priority intensification, compared with a planned yield of 48.6 quintals per hectare.

In addition, the letter also informs Alia that the semiannual industrial production plan was fulfilled by 100.8 percent, with excess production worth 10.3 million leks. The export plan was fulfilled by 100 percent.

ZERI I POPULLIT of 30 July publishes on page one a 700-word letter to Alia from the Librazhd District AWP Committee, informing him that the wheat production plan has been fulfilled by 103 percent, with a production of 64,000 quintals over that of the previous year.

The letter also informs Alia that the district fulfilled its general industrial production plan for the 6-month period by 105 percent, with an excess production worth 3.6 million leks. The social labor productivity target was attained by 105 percent, the state budget plan was fulfilled by 102.5 percent, the net income of enterprises by 121 percent, and the cost reduction target was exceeded by 170,000 leks.

PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat Concludes Visit

Confers With Zhivkov

AU0508200288 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Varna, August 5 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, had a meeting today with Mr. Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and with the delegation accompanying him which is on a visit to this country.

During the talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, the two sides discussed a number of questions of the international situation, the situation in the Middle East, the struggle of the Palestinian people, and questions of the bilateral relations.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Yasir 'Arafat greeted the entering into force of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and emphasised the importance of the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member states for curbing of the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and for strengthening of the security measures on the continent. It was pointed out that the realization of a breakthrough toward detente in international relations and real advance on the road toward a nuclear- and violence-free world create favourable preconditions for settlement, through political means, of the regional conflicts and for normalization of the situation in different parts of the world.

Mr. Yasir 'Arafat greeted the constructive contribution of Bulgaria for the consolidation of the stable good-neighbour relations in the Balkans through different forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov pointed out Bulgaria's principled and consistent position for comprehensive, just and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict. He stressed that the new political thinking provides the possibility for new approach to this complicated and interrelated complex of questions, taking into account the interests of all, the Arab people of Palestine included, which has the right of self determination to the same degree as it is guaranteed to the people of Israel.

The two sides stressed that the most important precondition for just and comprehensive settlement of the conflict in the Middle East is the complete withdrawal of the Israeli armies from the Arab territories occupied in 1967. The most efficient mechanism for the Middle East settlement is the convening of an international conference with the participation of the U.N. Security Council permanent members, as well as with the participation of all interested sides, the PLO included.

It was pointed out that at the present stage of great importance is the consistent realization of the resolutions of the summit in Algiers of the Arab League member states, the enhancement of their unity in support of the Palestinian cause. In this connection Mr. Todor Zhivkov stressed the significance of the strengthening of the unity of action between Syria, the PLO and the Lebanese national-patriotic forces.

The Bulgarian side expressed its solidarity with the uprising in the occupied territories.

The two sides greeted the activation of the mediation mission of U.N. Secretary General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar for ceasing of the fire and the beginning of peace negotiations between Iran and Iraq on the basis of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council.

Discussing the bilateral relations, the two sides expressed their willingness to develop and broaden their contacts in all spheres of life. Conviction was expressed that in the future they will take their due place in the common struggle of the two friendly peoples for peace, progress and democracy.

Attends Dinner With Zhivkov

AU0508184688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Today, in the Eksinovgrad residence in Varna, Comrade Todor Zhivkov had a meeting with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

Following the meeting, the two delegations continued their talks on the problems being discussed in an exceptionally cordial atmosphere.

This evening, Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a dinner in honor of the PLO delegation.

In the morning, the PLO delegation, accompanied by Comrades Milko Balev, Dimitur Stanishev, and Dimitur Dimitrov, first secretary of the Varna Oblast BCP Committee, visited the Druzhba Clothing Plant in Varna. The guests acquainted themselves with the production capacities and the up-to-date facilities of the enterprise. The guests also toured the festival complex in Varna, which offers excellent facilities for organizing various cultural events. Yasir 'Arafat and the officials accompanying him also visited the Navy Museum.

Dinner Speeches Given

AU0508203688 Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT 5 Aug 88

["Toast Speeches of T. Zhivkov and Y. 'Arafat"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, August 5 (BTA)—The uprising of the Palestinian people once again shows the need of energetic actions for regulation of the Middle East conflict, said Mr. Todor Zhivkov in his toast speech at the official dinner in honour of Mr. Yasir 'Arafat.

The Bulgarian leader expressed his conviction that the most appropriate way for settlement of the conflict is the convening of an international conference with the equal-right participation of the PLO. The activity of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council in the framework of such an international forum will cooperate for the making of just and mutually acceptable resolutions on all problems, he continued, pointing out that that would have a considerable contribution in the efforts for the building of a comprehensive system for security.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov stressed Bulgaria's principled and consistent support to the just struggle of the Palestinian and the other Arab peoples against the aggression. He expressed satisfaction over the fact that at the summit in Algeria of the Arab League member states the work of the Palestinian people and the PLO was supported.

In his toast the speaker stressed the traditional friendly relations between the Bulgarian and the Palestinian people, as well as the satisfaction over the talks with Mr. Yasir 'Arafat.

Dwelling on problems of the international relations, Mr. Todor Zhivkov emphasised the role of the new political thinking. He greeted once again the results of the Soviet-American dialogue, recalled the new initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries and the efforts for settlement of the regional conflicts, for improvement of the situation in all continents and regions. The Middle East also needs peace and disarmament, trust and cooperation, he said. In order that it can once again take its historical place as a crossroad, as a bridge between different civilizations, a number of contradictions and prejudices must be overcome there, a political resolution of the problems must be searched for, said Mr. Todor Zhivkov.

He spoke also about Bulgaria's contribution to the consolidation of the good-neighbour relations and cooperation between the Balkan peoples and pointed out the importance of the Belgrade meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries. Acquainting Mr. Yasir 'Arafat with the innovation in the social life of this country, Mr. Todor Zhivkov emphasised the principled coincidence of the aims and tasks of the restructuring in Bulgaria and the USSR. Having in mind the processes in the other socialist countries, he said: We understand that we participate in an international process.

The Palestinian people sees in Bulgaria a sincere and true ally. Such allies it considers also all socialist community countries and the USSR, all peaceful forces in the world, said Mr. Yasir 'Arafat.

He expressed satisfaction that he is in Bulgaria, where "one of the most noble peace events of our times—the Fourth International Banner of Peace Children's Assembly—was held, in the country towards which the Palestinian people bear deep feelings of gratitude and friendliness because of her sound and principled positions of support to its just struggle.

The uprising of our people, continued Mr. Yasir 'Arafat, attracted the world's attention to the Middle East problem and the Palestinian people is in the core of this problem. The sincere efforts of all peace-loving forces are necessary for the finding of just and complete solution of the problem.

Mr. Yasir 'Arafat expressed the opinion of the PLO according to which the occupation of the Palestinian and Arab lands and the violations over the Palestinians continue because of the support of the United States, which takes into account chiefly the interests of Israel. The PLO is convinced that just and durable peace can be achieved only through the formula supported by most countries in the world: an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations with the participation of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all interested sides, the PLO included, as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, on an equal rights basis, said Mr. Yasir 'Arafat.

We have come to your friendly country convinced in Bulgaria's support to this position of ours, he continued, and stressed the constructiveness of Bulgaria's positions and approaches in the international relations. The guest pointed out as an example the initiatives for the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of chemical and nuclear weapons, the efforts for the establishing of climate of peace, good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the region. He voiced the PLO's support to these constructive approaches as well as the support of the organization to the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Speaking about the efforts for peace, the leader of the PLO pointed out that the following of Iraq's peace initiatives and the agreement of Iran for ceasing of the fire, combined with the immediate and complete application of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council and the direct negotiations under the patronage of the United Nations, outline the real way out of the destructive war.

'Arafat Speaks to Press

AU0608174988 Sofia BTA in English 1711 GMT 6 Aug 88

["Press Conference of Yasir 'Arafat"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, August 6 (BTA)—Mr. Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Council, had a meeting with Bulgarian journalists today.

During our stay here, he stressed, everywhere we felt the cordial attitude of the Bulgarian people, its solidarity to the Palestinian people, to the Palestinian cause. I would like to express a high assessment of the assistance rendered by socialist Bulgaria to our Palestinian struggle.

Bulgaria supports the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people morally and materially. During the recent months Bulgaria has sent medications for the insurgents in the occupied territories, pointed out Mr. Yasir 'Arafat.

Asked about the uprising of the Palestinians in the occupied territories the chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO noted that now is the most dangerous stage in the development of the struggle of the Palestinian people. The uprising continues and shows clearly that the only legitimate representative of the people is the Palestine Liberation Organization. Through this uprising we showed how a people in occupation can resist, even with stones, the most powerful military machine: the Israeli-American one. This is a new revolutionary experience in the history of the resistance against the Zionist occupation, said Mr. Yasir 'Arafat. In his opinion the uprising will continue for a long time. He thinks that the Palestinians have abolished the legend about the Israeli democracy and have revealed the the real face of the Zionist regime.

Mr. 'Arafat said that the great response of the uprising all over the world has made the U.S. to come out with an initiative for the Middle East.

To the question how he sees the future of the Palestinian people, Mr. Yasir 'Arafat answered:

The establishment of a Palestinian state is a question of time. What is important is the resoluteness of the Palestinian people. The friends of the Palestinian people become more and more each day. And that is why we will prevail. Victory is a question of time.

'Arafat, Delegation Depart 6 Aug

AU0608170188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] The PLO delegation led by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, has ended its visit to Bulgaria. The guests had visited Bulgaria at the invitation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

At Varna Airport the delegation was seen off by Comrades Milko Balev, Dimitur Stanishev, and Dimitur Dimitrov, first secretary of Varna Oblast BCP Committee, and by other officials.

CSCE Official Comments on Helsinki Anniversary

AU0208121488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Jul 88 p 4

[Interview with Boris Tsvetkov, chairman of the CSCE National Committee, by Nikolay Golemanov: "Reason for Optimism"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] The CSCE ended on 1 August 1975 in Helsinki, the capital of Finland. It was an unprecedented event in the stormy history of our continent. Boris Tsvetkov, chairman of the Bulgarian National CSCE Committee, who was kind enough to give an interview to Nikolay Golemanov, representative of our editorial board, described the importance of the conference and the development of its results over the 13 years since the end of the conference. [passage omitted]

[Golemanov] The hopes and the actual processes of development which resulted from the final Helsinki document were linked to the popular expression "spirit of Helsinki." Along with the new thinking, the idea of a common European home was propagated. The logical link of continuity existing between these two concepts is evident. Nevertheless, can you describe their common features, as well as the new elements emerging today?

[Tsvetkov] The concept "spirit of Helsinki" is commonly associated with the process of international detente for which the Final Act established solid foundations. The political meaning of this concept includes the idea of the "common European home." Recently, this idea has assumed a new meaning. The common responsibility for the fate of our continent in facing the immeasurable increase of all kinds of threats—military, ecological, and others—is much more deeply felt. The only alternative to military confrontation and antagonism is and remains the peaceful coexistence in our common home, under the same roof.

The concept of a "common European home" is the result of international realities. The new political thinking stresses the highly topical nature and importance of this idea today, based on the priority of global and universally human values over those of individual groups. The idea, which Mikhail Gorbachev recently further developed in his speech to the Polish Sejm, is based on the objectively existing common European features regarding the geographical, historical, economic, and cultural dimensions of our continent.

The requirement to preserve this common home, to make it a safer and more peaceful place of existence will become an even more powerful catalyst of the all-European process.

[Golemanov] In 1988 it is difficult to be pessimistic about the future of the all-European process. Nevertheless, obstacles exist along its path of progress? Can you describe such obstacles?

[Tsvetkov] The favorable development of the international situation continues to be obstructed by the counteractions of the forces of militarism, by the supporters of old, outdated methods and approaches. They are obviously concerned about the broken ice and are trying to revive the myth of "Soviet threat," they are stubbornly trying to keep up the meaningless doctrine of nuclear threats, and are working on plans for "compensations" and modernization of arms arsenals.

Such activities reflect on the all-European process and its development, on the work of the Vienna meeting. Efforts are being made to subject the European process to the selfish interests of certain European countries and to extort one-sided political advantages.

It is evident that the old cliches accumulated from the past still exist in the West. However, time is working in favor of further asserting the requirements of new political thinking. The positive trends are prevailing and manifest themselves with increasing conviction. This inspires us with hope and optimism.

[Golemanov] The success of the Belgrade meeting held about 5 months ago once more demonstrated the foresight and efficiency of our country's consistent Balkan policy. Can you describe in which other directions the People's Republic of Bulgaria is working for the consolidation of detente on our continent?

[Tsvetkov] The Balkan peninsula is part of the common European home and Bulgaria actively contributes to the transformation of this area into a peaceful area of this continent. This is only a part, but an essential one, of our country's consistent efforts in contributing to disarmament and to the consolidation of international security. We are working in cooperation with the allies of the Warsaw Pact. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is co-author of several, important initiatives recently adopted by the fraternal socialist countries and aimed at the achievement of this goal. Our country actively participates in international forums, especially within the UN, it submits its own initiatives, and makes its contribution to the development of the all-European process, as well as to the struggle for the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the world. [passage omitted]

Politburo Issues Decision on Press Restructuring

AU0508191688 Sofia BTA in English
1759 GMT 5 Aug 88

["Bulgarian Press and Restructuring"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 5 (BTA)—For the development of glasnost and for the successful work of the mass media in the conditions of broadening of socialist democracy, it is necessary to draft and adopt a law for the press in the near future, reads a resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP which has been circulated here: "For the Qualitatively New Social Role of the Press in Bulgaria in the Conditions of Restructuring."

The document points out that, despite the successes of the hitherto system for publication and distribution of different editions, it enters into contradiction with the new social needs. As a considerable shortcoming, the document points out the lack of enough guarantees for protection of journalists and editors on the side of the state and public bodies and organizations, as well as separate personalities, standing against criticism and the normal and wide exchange of information in society.

The resolution speaks of the unjustified desire to make secret a number of projects and activities, events and facts, to deprive people of information for important aspects of public life, of the past of the BCP and of this country. This is an infringement of one of the basic rights of Bulgaria's citizens.

The resolution views the hitherto information service through the press as insufficiently efficient and it stresses the need of a new model which should also form a new information culture of the society.

The resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP is based on the conception adopted by the July Plenum of the CC of the BCP (1987) and it takes into account the specificity of information activity. It stresses that the press should be an instrument of innovation in the restructuring and that glasnost is an indispensable device of the new political course.

The document points out that the necessary political and legal guarantees should be created for protection of journalists when they write of different shortcomings: expression of irresponsibility, malpractice, and crimes. It views the press as a spokesman of socialist pluralism of opinions. The innovation, the qualitatively new type of democracy impose the need of consolidation of the discussion principle in the press, points out the resolution.

The social role of the press and its restructuring should be realized on the basis of the principle of socialist self-government of society, reads the resolution. To this end the newspapers and magazines, from newspapers and magazines of the central leaderships of the BCP, the state-cum-public organizations, and the mass organizations should turn into papers and magazines of the organizations themselves. The Politburo endorsed the decision for the RABOTNICHESKO DELO daily and the NOVO VREME magazine to be editions of the BCP. Till the present they have been publications of the CC of the BCP.

The editions which till the present have been publications of the ministries and the different artists' unions, like the NARODNA KULTURA and LITERATUREN FRONT weeklies, for instance, points out the document, must become independent publications for literature, art and culture. The local newspapers should be reconstructed as organs of the local party organizations of the territorial entities.

The document envisages also changes in the structure of the periodical press corresponding to its new role and social status in the process of restructuring. The organization of the press will be built in accordance with the principles of self-government and economic approach. In principle the newspapers and magazines cannot continue to be economically supported by the state, by the organizations. They should be supported by those for whom they are published. At the same time obligatory

subscriptions will be stopped. The document recommends changes in the hitherto structure of the editions, stressing that protocol informations for official events should be lessened.

The document points also out the need of entirely new organization of publishing activity. Concentration of periodical editions is necessary into larger publishing units: publishing houses and centres for books and periodicals. They should be on their own economic account, with their own production and social funds, and bank accounts.

The resolution recommends certain changes for updating of editorial work, of the publishing process. Among the measures for stabilization of the press economy is the encouragement of advertisement publishing. A new tariff for payment of different advertisements in the press will be made and the monopoly of "Bulgarreklama" will be abolished.

In conclusion, the document points out that in the conditions of restructuring the party leadership aims to encourage initiative, to consolidate broader rights and responsibilities for all journalists.

Value of 'Propaganda Machine' Questioned
AU0208162688 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 31 1 Aug 88 p 9

[Ivan Slavov article: "About the Whistle" under the rubric: "Uninvited Thoughts"]

[Text] Presumably you know the joke about the ship that got into trouble on the open sea, despite the excellent condition of its operational equipment, and the confidence of the captain and his crew. The commission of experts, after being unable to detect the cause of the ship's deteriorating speed, asked the captain where he thought all the steam was going, to which he replied: "To the whistle, of course!"

This is often the case with our mass media, who use all their steam to blow the whistle, and instead of assisting the crew to steer the ship, try to make it move faster by shouting militant orders and appeals from the bridge for selfless devotion and manly courage. As soon as a new initiative, measure, or campaign is launched with a great noise, as soon as it becomes necessary to compensate for losses caused by drought, or floods, or to cover up for shortcomings in planning and organization, as soon as it has been decided to launch a campaign for the accomplishment of a certain task, the propaganda machine begins to spit out appeals, slogans, and addresses at high speed, as if words had the magic power to replace action, facts, and deeds.

Since we are addicted to superlatives, and afraid that we might be accused of reticence, skepticism, and lack of enthusiasm, we do not hesitate to introduce inflated adjectives, such as "nationwide" and "with selfless devotion," as if the people were always at hand, ready to serve us, and always prepared to respond with selfless devotion to each of our bright ideas, even if such an idea is conceived by chance or on the spur of the moment, even if it turns out to be a mistake. This is usually followed by a flood of quickly concocted leaflets, posters, slogans, and newspaper boards, adorned with the famous adjectives "nationwide" and "selfless", as if a seriously assigned and well founded task could not be implemented without pompous slogans, such as: "Construction is a Nationwide Task" and "Let us Engage in Nationwide Competition!"

What does this word "nationwide" actually mean? Can one and the same nation, large groups of which are naturally excluded from material production, participate simultaneously in all actions, tasks, initiatives, and measures? If the harvest of wheat, corn, tomatoes, and grapes should be lagging behind, if the crops are threatened by a drought, or a given industrial branch fails to make progress, this is primarily the obligation of the workers and specialists engaged in that particular sphere, and not the concern of medical doctors, educational workers, officers, cooks, pensioners, and nursery school teachers. It is an absurdity that centuries-old, irreversible, and vitally important problems should be resolved in the form of campaigns, by spreading insecurity and alarm, and involving the responsibility of people from other spheres, who are coping with their own tasks conscientiously and competently. Why should a surgeon feel guilty, because the same shortcomings are committed all over again, and have been repeated over many decades, with the consistency of the seasons following each other, resulting in the everlasting shortage of packing cases, railroad cars, and the necessary manpower for the harvest of cherries, tomatoes, and grapes? If he, the surgeon, has to cope with his daily tasks, should he appeal for nationwide assistance, or should he try to overcome his difficulties by himself, without making a lot of noise?

What about the adjective "selfless?" Is it admissible and appropriate that we should exclusively devote all our energies, efforts, and talents to our immediate tasks? Instead of responding to abstract appeals for "nationwide" and "selfless" efforts, is it not wiser and more sophisticated to organize our work efficiently, so as to make it useful, and so that everyone may take care of his own tasks, for which he has been trained?

U.S. Trade Restrictions Hamper Exports

LD0808120788 Prague CTK in English 1121 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak-U.S. foreign trade turnover amounts to 650 million crowns annually, by far under the two countries' potentials.

The development of mutual trade is hampered by U.S. restrictions, namely high tariffs on Czechoslovak exports as the United States has refused since 1951 to accord Czechoslovakia the most favoured nation treatment normally applied in international trade. Czechoslovak exports to the USA are also hampered by the terms of the Western Coordinating Committee for Export Control (COCOM), set up in January 1950.

The roots of this economic development rest in the cold war of the 1950's when relations between Czechoslovakia and Western countries, traditionally good and mutually beneficial, stagnated and declined.

The chances of an expansion of economic cooperation appeared in the 1980's when legal matters concerning property were solved between the two states. However, no changes followed.

The U.S. then proposed the establishment of two working groups—one for humanitarian issues and the other to promote mutual trade. The latter met four times in 15 months discussing mutual information and the development of the economies, results and development prognoses as well as the possibility of removing the obstacles hampering mutual trade. However, no significant progress has been made. It is primarily up to the American side when this situation in mutual economic relations can be substantially changed.

Improvement in 'Quality' of Party Members Needed

AU0808125388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Aug 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Before They Join the Party"]

[Excerpts] The enrollment of new people in the CPCZ's ranks is the integral part of improving the party's membership base. Let us recall that today the party has more than 1,717,000 members, including 110,000 candidate members. Its membership has increased by 42,000 Communists since the 17th Congress. This is convincing evidence of the fact that the party is growing stronger numerically. The categorical demand for the future is to see to the quality of the enrolled members and candidate members; to see that their preparedness, activity, and militancy is improved; and to see that they act as all-round models when it comes to the realization of the tasks of restructuring. [passage omitted]

However, let us be frank and admit that organizations exist in which sufficient attention is not paid to whom they enroll in the party, and they do not realize that by doing this they also influence the quality of the future membership base. For example, hundreds of organizations from important sectors such as industry, construction, and transportation had not prepared a single worker for enrollment in the party last year. This is evidence of numerous shortcomings, but also of inadequate care for the future generation of workers in those collectives, which should be the centerpiece of the party regional committees' work. Many comrades are saying that "there is no longer anything to select from," that "the best ones already are in the party, and others are 'not yet up to' its demands." Is this a correct opinion? Definitely not. This opinion not only must be rejected, but we also must search for the reasons why it has come into existence. It is, namely, often the evidence of an organization's poor mass political work, of not knowing people, of underestimating the importance of the struggle for their minds, and also of a formalistic approach to the improvement of the membership base. Certainly it is more convenient to enroll a "ready-made" person than to carefully and for a long time prepare him for enrollment in the party. [passage omitted]

Invoking directives from the district is a frequent "magic formula" of some of the party organizations' committees. They are, allegedly, permitted to enroll so many people from various professions. Allegedly, that "binds one's hands" and leads to their having to also enroll candidate members from branches which are of no importance to the fulfillment of tasks on worksites and for restructuring, although this should be one of the determining factors. The truth is, of course, that some district committees have themselves set certain targets regarding enrollment in the party. This system is under the sway of the old way of managing organizations. How much more efficient it would be if the district committee would reach an agreement with the organization on its needs and jointly assess whether they act in the interest of improving the membership base in the district. The district committee would avoid incorrectly allowing itself to be satisfied only with the number of those enrolled, which sometimes even leads to their tolerance for the lack of preparedness and poor moral prerequisites of those enrolled.

We have already said that the party has grown by more than 42,000 Communists since the 17th Congress. At the same time, in some important sectors—especially in material production and scientific-technical development—there is an inadequate membership base. Not only the quality, but also the composition and the deployment of enrolled comrades must, more markedly than it has until now, express the needs of the party and ensure its line, and, in particular, create conditions for strengthening the core of its workers. Today, every eighth worker and every fourth technical-economic employee are in the party.

On the other hand, however, even with the intention of strengthening the party's core of workers, it is necessary to take into consideration worksites' specific conditions. This applies, for example, to the health, education, and other sectors, in which highly qualified members of intelligentsia predominate. There must not be administrative obstacles to their joining the party. The fundamental criterion must be the professional, political, and moral maturity of the applicants for membership, and their determination to play—in the party ranks—an active part in asserting and implementing the party policy. [passage omitted]

Fuel Consumption Rise Defeats Conservation Plan

AU0408111588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Aug 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Energy—More Precious Than Gold"]

[Excerpts] The rise in consumption of fuel and energy in the last 2 years exhausted the increase of all fuel and energy resources planned for the entire 5-year plan. The planned 2.9 percent annual decline in energy-intensiveness was achieved neither in 1986 nor in 1987; in 1986, the energy-intensiveness of the national economy declined 1.3 percent and last year, a mere 0.3 percent. This means that production organizations consumed an above-plan amount of fuels and energy to generate a lower-than-planned national income.

The acquisition of new energy resources usually requires long-term investment. The situation that has arisen is very serious because, if the current trend in the consumption of fuels and energy continues, before long it will be impossible to cover consumption with resources. [passage omitted] It is therefore high time to change approaches toward the consumption of fuels and energy. The extensive method of coping with the situation by expanding the construction of power stations, mines, and the like is unacceptable. Even now the securing of fuel-energy resources costs us more than one-third of all investment resources earmarked for the development of industry. [passage omitted]

Energy consumption is, beyond any doubt, crucially affected by the standard of technology in manufacturing enterprises. Naturally, antiquated and worn-out technology will not conserve much energy. It is thus startling, to say the least, that the absolute majority of modernization and new construction projects now under preparation does not secure the needed decline in energy-intensiveness. And, what is more, of the Kcs22 billion originally planned for rationalization investments in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, only Kcs0.7 billion was spent in 1986 and the same amount again last year. The situation in the annual plans for the remaining years of the 5-year plan is analogous. Just like in the past, also during the current restriction of investments, rationalization projects are always the first to be eliminated from the plan.

The fact is that, notwithstanding all efforts to use fuels and energy efficiently, we have failed to make use of instruments such as tax breaks [for energy-saving investments], state subsidies, price supports for energy-efficient products, and so forth, instruments that led to rapid consumption cuts abroad. It is likely that under the administrative method of managing the national economy they would not even have shown the desired effect. Another apparent flaw has been the failure to interconnect savings laid down in the state target program with the allocation of fuel and energy supplies. As a result, there has been no incentive to carry out a conceptual rationalization activity. Instead of pursuing projects yielding major long-term effect, one has been striving to furnish proof on paper of a large number of minor measures.

In view of the separate monitoring of rationalization in individual branch ministries, even the state plan does not provide incentives for conservation measures of an interdepartmental nature. This applies, in particular, to products and technologies that are, under the existing conditions, uneconomical for their manufacture and may even increase their energy consumption, but the use of which yields, from the national viewpoint, a considerable contribution in terms of energy conservation. Conductors from extra-pure aluminum, whose production increases energy consumption but which substantially reduce losses in the distribution of electricity, may serve as one such example. Similarly, it makes no difference to the manufacturer of rolling mills whether minus-tolerance sections can be rolled on them, although this is one of the most important steps in reducing the consumption of metals in our national economy.

The manner of monitoring the development of energy-intensiveness has not yet been cleared up. In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, it developed twice more favorably in relation to gross output than it did in relation to adjusted net output. Enterprises are therefore reporting their energy-intensiveness in relation to gross output and the results on paper are much better than the actual efficiency in the use of fuels and energy.

The new conditions, in which some organizations already operate, will, in themselves, not resolve the bad situation either. The interest in cutting costs will make enterprises pay attention primarily to the biggest items making up their costs. Since, in the absolute majority of enterprises, fuel and energy consumption accounts for 5 to 7 percent of total production costs, a 15 to 20 percent cut in energy-intensiveness would be necessary to cut costs by just 1 percent. And a cut of this scale cannot be achieved without long-term efforts. Would the effect be worth the state enterprises' efforts? The participation of the state in energy conservation will therefore be inevitable, as everywhere else in the world.

The cause would benefit from the concentration of the management of the energy economy in a single central agency that would deal with both developing resources

and influencing consumption. The reorganization of central offices establishes good prerequisites for such a step, which should better ensure a uniform implementation of the state energy policy. [passage omitted]

What cannot be delayed is a reassessment of approaches to the state target program for rationalizing the consumption and use of fuels and energy. As regards the plan for 1989 and 1990, we must eliminate from the program projects yielding only short-term or temporary savings and replace them by measures of investment and operational nature with long-term effect. [passage omitted]

Curbs on 'Inferior' Gypsy Population Called For

AU0508160288 Bratislava NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Aug 88 p 7

[Letter from Doctor of Pedagogy Kornel Danas, of Poprad: "A Painful Problem; A Reader's Polemical View on the Solution of the Gypsy Question"]

[Excerpts] A lasting disorder in the sphere of mental abilities is known as feeblemindedness (oligophrenia). It is a disorder affecting the development of all psychic functions, mental functions in particular. [passage omitted] A relatively high percentage of feebleminded children comes from intermarriage between relatives (cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and so forth). Our law does not forbid such marriages and existing preventive measures (such as information provided in premarital advice centers) are scarcely effective and, regarding Gypsies, for example, absolutely pointless.

The number of feebleminded Gypsy children has increased in recent years. It is easy to figure out, considering the Gypsies' high birth rate (10 children per family or even more), that in a few years the number of feebleminded children will be much higher. This ethnic group's different way of life does not allow the use of any prophylactic means. Many Gypsies intensively indulge in drinking alcohol and produce feebleminded children out of intoxication. Sexual intercourse between relatives and the very young is common. Gypsy girls of 13 to 14 years of age who are already pregnant and give birth to inferior offspring are not uncommon. So far no educational or persuasion campaigns have helped, not even financial rewards for undergoing sterilization. All these means are apparently poorly thought out and, hence, ineffective.

I work in a village with a large Gypsy community with many children. Following their examination by professionals, more than 90 percent of these children are enrolled at the special school [for mentally retarded children]. Only about 1 to 2 percent of these children can be taught, with great difficulty, at the elementary school. Still, even in the classes of the normal elementary school there is a fair number of children for whom there was no spare room in the special school. An analogous situation exists in all localities with Gypsy inhabitants. The shortage of school capacity for feebleminded children is evident. Unfortunately, it even happens that not all districts report the whole truth in their statistics because some people [who compile these statistics] are afraid that the superior agencies would take them to task for an excessively high number of feebleminded children. I have even heard the following argument: What would they say abroad? How would such a large number of feebleminded children be viewed by people abroad? It goes without saying that such questions are absurd, because we are only deceiving ourselves and the feebleminded children are growing up and becoming a fertile soil for delinquency. [passage omitted]

We know from newspaper reports and statistics that the delinquency of Gypsy youth is increasing year after year. We have even read in the press an alarming report about the raid of young Gypsies on a night express train. Examinations of juvenile recidivists show that the overwhelming majority of them are mentally retarded or feebleminded. [passage omitted] Low intelligence is a favorable ground for the growth of delinquency. [passage omitted]

The existing, mostly humane and prophylactic, means are scarcely effective. Statistics and reports often do not reveal the bitter truth. Responsible officials who draw their information only from written reports think that everything is in the best order. It is not by coincidence that rank-and-file pedagogues make a habit of saying that those who sometimes decide on the re-education of Gypsy children and their parents have only seen Gypsies from the windows of an express train. I regard as very harmful all concessions [to Gypsies], such as enforced financial support (so as not to be pestered by Gypsies), free meals (as an incentive to send children to school), the payment of disabled-child benefits to the parents (they usually immediately spend it on booze), and many others. The truth is that the more financial resources we invest in Gypsies, the more we enable them to drink and to produce feebleminded children out of intoxication. To be correctly understood: I am in favor of financial support, but it should not go into the hands of irresponsible parents but into the hands of the relevant institutions or educational establishments that would use this money to procure for the children basic material needs, and not brandy. The ill-considered integration of Gypsies into city centers or village communities has not resolved anything either. The city centers are run down, the communities, in turn, are without water and sanitary facilities and the Gypsies continue to live like their forebears did—without any sense of hygiene and without cultural standards. There are also voices calling for the dispersion [rozptyl] of Gypsies among the general population, which, however, resists such a solution. The fact is, indeed, that none of the promoters of dispersion has set an example and taken a Gypsy family into his own house or apartment block.

The problem is a very serious one and this is why a completely different path must be taken.

Above all, it is necessary to prevent a further increase in the large number of feebleminded children by, for instance, a reduction in financial support. The latest adjustments of social payments triggered an outright population explosion in problematic families. I know villages with families of 10 feebleminded children or more, whose fathers, mostly recipients of disability pensions, live off their pension and child allowances. Financial support only produces in them a carefree attitude. Especially rigid provisions should be adopted in combatting alcoholism, to prevent Gypsies, but also other citizens, from drinking away child allowances. Every Gypsy who produces a child with a minor should be brought to trial and sentenced in accordance with valid laws. That is why proper record-keeping and surveillance over compliance with the law are essential.

Strict and accurate record-keeping is essential also with regard to the registration of marriages in Gypsy families; chaos and confusion prevail here to date. Marriages between blood relations should be forbidden, and not only marriages, but any sexual intercourse between relatives. [passage omitted]

The potentials for education of children should be verified directly in the families. The teachers of our school have done that and they were shocked. However, this should also be done by the responsible social workers and, if the education of the child in the family turns out to be endangered from the sanitary or moral viewpoint, such a child should be taken into institutional care (naturally, the appropriate support and supplementary payments should be taken away as well). We are still much too indifferent in this regard. Often we only wave our hand in resignation and prefer to turn a blind eye, lest the problem bother us. However, such conduct is detrimental to all of us.

I realize that some people will retort: We are short of money, short of capacities, short of this or that. Instead of building pubs (we have them in abundance), we should build schools and institutional establishments for the education of endangered children. [passage omitted] All uncontrollable monetary support, most of which is wasted on booze, must be transferred to the state institution that will ensure the education of the child.

We must start to rigidly and exactingly tackle this painful problem.

Briefs

Discussing Cooperation With Canada

Miroslav Toman, CSSR minister of agriculture and food, received in Prague on 3 August Brian Morrissey, Canadian deputy minister of agriculture, fisheries, and nutrition, who is heading his country's delegation to the first session of the Joint Czechoslovak-Canadian Agricultural Committee. Toman and Morrissey discussed issues connected with the further development of cooperation in plant and animal production, aimed at "exchanging genetic resources and at higher forms of cooperation." [summary] [*AU0508110388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Aug 88 p 2*]

Delegation Returns From Africa

A delegation of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front and the Czechoslovak Committee for Solidarity With the Nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, headed by Daniel Futej, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front and deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak SR, returned home from a visit to five African states on 3 August. During its stay in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Madagascar, the delegation met with representatives of partner organizations, discussed development of cooperation, and signed appropriate agreements in that respect. [summary] [*AU0508113188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Aug 88 p 2*]

Foreign Debt Increases, Exports Less Competitive
AU0508104288 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Aug 88 p 9

["Ke." report: "Despite Increased Debt the GDR Continues To Be the 'First Address'; Experts Still Assume Large Foreign Exchange Reserves; But the Situation Becomes More Difficult"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—For FRG banks, as well as for foreign banks, the GDR continues to be one of the "first addresses" as a creditor. [passage omitted]

GDR debt with Western credit institutes has increased again in 1987. The net debt of 9.3 billion dollars, which was ascertained by the German Institute for Economic Research in Berlin, appears rather high to most experts. By 30 September last year the Bank for International Settlements had determined a total debt of 12.4 (previous year 11.5) billion dollars and assets of 8.16 (previous year 7.5) billion dollars in its statistics for the GDR. If these figures are compared to those of the Berlin economic reseachers, the GDR net debt would have had to increase by approximately 5 billion dollars in the last 3 months of last year.

Most of the observers in the eastern part of Germany consider such a drastic increase as "completely improbable." However, they do not have exact figures either. [passage omitted]

One thing is certain, with margins of one-fourth to three-eighths, the GDR still gets conditions that are only granted to the best debtor countries. Moreover, the East Berlin Government does not even use half of the interest-free overdraft credit (swing) granted to it by the FRG Government for the inner-German trade. Finally, despite all expectations, the volume of the triangular transactions, in which, for example, machines from the FRG are bought via third countries, continues to increase this year. This would not be possible, if the GDR did not have adequate free foreign exchange reserves which it uses in this way. Besides, the GDR would have hardly rejected the offer by FRG banks to finance the Airbus deal, if it had to be concerned about its solvency because of a too high debt, it is stated in bank circles.

However, it is obvious that the GDR's debts are increasing and that its foreign currency surpluses from trade with other Western countries have been clearly decreasing since 1987. A major reason for this is the combines' deteriorated ability to deliver. Undoubtedly, the known deficiencies in its own ancillary industry and the increasingly outdated production facilities are reflected here. Not only productivity but also the quality of the products suffers from this. At present, for example, the GDR is again losing competitive strength to the offerers from the Far East. This is surely one of the reasons for the 7 percent decline in foreign trade with countries outside the East Bloc in the first half of 1988, as ascertained by the German Institute for Economic Research. Only in inner-German trade were the deliveries increased by 8 percent. If this negative tendency continues over a longer period, serious financial problems may well arise from it. So far, however, there has been no indication of this.

Yugoslav Guest Construction Workers Strike
AU0808103088 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 8 Aug 88 p 14

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Guest Workers on Strike"]

[Text] The GDR has problems with guest workers from Yugoslavia. For nearly 20 years Yugoslav construction enterprises have been active in the GDR, primarily in the construction of hotels and power plants, as well as in the chemical industry. During the past few months, the Yugoslavs working in the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine have frequently staged warning strikes which are directed against their own employer, the Yugoslav company Rudis. The causes of the work stoppages are disputes that surround the Yugoslav company: The Rudis company, which comes from the rich north of Yugoslavia and is paid in foreign currency in the GDR, has employed mainly cheap labor from the south—people who are paid in dinars and receive an equivalent of DM 650 per month. The Foreign Trade Ministry in East Berlin wants to get rid of its partner Rudis and is now looking for a suitable company in other countries. At the beginning of the eighties, the ministry already had problems with Polish guest workers because of the Solidarity trade union. The troublemakers were expelled at the time. The Rudis representatives, however, keep calm. Said one of them: "As long as they need a crane overnight which can only be supplied after months by their own industry, whereas we procure the machine immediately and at a low price from West Berlin, they cannot do without us."

CSCE Delegation Head Sees Progress
LD0508143888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1048 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Vienna, 5 Aug (ADN)—The head of the GDR delegation to the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, Ambassador Peter Steglich, referring to the current state of the negotiations on a final document, told ADN correspondents that there has been clear progress over the past few weeks. A convergence of positions on substantive issues can also be detected, although important problems have not yet been solved once and for all.

The GDR representative referred to the favorable impact of the appeal by the Warsaw meeting of the [Warsaw Pact] Political Consultative Committee on the other participants at the Vienna meeting by demonstrating maximum constructive effort and for concluding negotiations with a substantial and balanced final document.

The delegations from the socialist states, through other constructive and concrete initiatives, contributed to the considerable progress toward that goal. Thus, it was possible, through new and politically far-reaching ideas, to reduce existing differences in the important and—for the success of the Vienna meeting—decisive area of military security and to move closer to solutions to key questions which are mutually acceptable.

This applied both to the mandated talks regarding future negotiations on conventional disarmament and to the continuation of the process started with the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

On questions of human rights and humanitarian considerations, they took steps which will make it possible to avoid controversial problems and thus to prepare compromise solutions. A similar trend could be seen in cooperation in trade, industry, economics, technology, and in environmental protection, even though difficulties remained here, as in other fields.

The central issue now, the GDR ambassador said, was to bring about mutually acceptable solutions to unresolved questions in speedy negotiations. This requires the highest degree of responsibility and a sense of reality by all sides. However, it is precisely here that the problem lies. Even in the final stages of the Vienna meeting, some Western states are not prepared to forego positions which have proved to be unrealistic for almost 2 years now. It is to be hoped that political reason will finally smooth the path to the necessary compromise.

Despite continuing problems one can state that there now are prospects for the Vienna meeting to end this fall, said Ambassador Peter Steglich. The concrete agreements emerging after 2 years of negotiations will help to smooth the path of strengthening mutual relations between the CSCE member states and gradually improve and accelerate the process of confidence-building, disarmament, and comprehensive, all-around cooperation. Negotiations on conventional disarmament and new military confidence- and security-building measures could also begin this year as a result of the Vienna meeting. The CSCE process has thereby helped considerably to ensure that there is no slackening in the disarmament process.

Following a recess for technical reasons, which started on 5 August, the negotiations will resume at foreign-minister level on 29 August with the aim of concluding the meeting as quickly as possible.

Kim Il-song Receives Reply From Honecker

SK3107020188 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2200 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK, received a message of reply from Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, to his message of greetings to the international meeting on the founding of a nuclear-free zone held in Berlin, the capital of the GDR.

The message reads:

Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK, Pyongyang:

Respected Comrade Kim Il-song, as sponsor of the international meeting for the founding of a nuclear-free zone held in Berlin, I thank you for your encouraging message of greetings to this international meeting in which historical peace issues were discussed most comprehensively.

In the message, you supported the peace proposals of socialist countries. Your support for the peace proposals of socialist countries and the proposal of the DPRK to convert the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone contributed to the success of this meeting.

Believing that the successes attained at this meeting will prove to be a new driving force in strengthening close cooperation between our two parties and two states as well, I most wholeheartedly wish you health and greater success in your activities for the well-being of the Korean people.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of State of the GDR

[Dated] 22 July 1988, Berlin

Grosz on Foreign Capital in Enterprises

LD0708214388 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] The party general secretary and premier said in the United States that the possibility exists for Americans to buy Hungarian enterprises in their entirety. Anna Sardi, deputy chief editor of THE WEEK, inquired about the political side of this matter; its legal part obviously will be covered in the company law which is in preparation. But what will be the role of the trade union, of the party, in the enterprises that are to go into private hands? Who will deal with these, and where will we find these spheres of issues? The answer was heard on Wednesday afternoon in the parliament house, when Karoly Grosz and his entourage held a briefing about the North America trip.

[Begin Grosz recording] The question is justified. There is no danger of the economic and political treatment of this problem causing too great a difficulty at this moment. Nevertheless, this has to be dealt with politically and according to principle, even if there will be only one such case. Though I repeat that at this moment there is not even a single offer of this kind. Therefore, the various rumors that have spread here are in fact not yet causing any problem for the leadership. But this must be clarified in principle.

Now then, the political treatment of this matter figured also as a part of the professional debates in the course of the preparation of the company law. The political leadership is dealing with this issue. If you want to catch red-handed the one who deals with this in concrete terms, he is present: I am that person. For in fact I consider this to be the key issue within the entire company law, from the ideological viewpoint.

If we approach the matter from the other side, from the point of view of every-day politics, it is not so significant. At present there exist enterprises where the proportion of foreign capital is bigger than the Hungarian and where, even so, the trade union and the party organization function very well and normally.

Here I would like to allude to the fact that we in the party movement must think it through, by the time of the 14th congress, whether this classical and traditional, party-built structure—regardless of an eventual change in ownership—answers the demands of the age. This will have to be thought through. We cannot avoid this even if there is no company law; because in my view in Hungary—I am not acquainted in sufficient detail with the practice of the other socialist countries to dare to take a stand on this—but in Hungary the fact that, with the exception of two areas, the party movement unilaterally put the emphasis only on the plant political activity brought with it this harmful by-product: that local political public life atrophied, or at least weakened.

Since'45—if you think back—there were two phases that diverged from this. One was the period between'45 and'48; the other was the period of consolidation after'56. It is a theoretical requirement that we think it through whether the lessons of these critical periods carry within them conceptual values, intellectual values, which in the future will have to be better utilized from the viewpoint of the development of the party movement.

I cannot imagine that in the given plant—no matter under what kind of ownership the plant exists—there should be no communist community, if there are party members there, naturally. As for there being no trade union, that I cannot imagine at all. Where there is an employee there must be some kind of trade union—and I use this expression deliberately: some kind of trade union, which defends the workers' interests. But that a plant party organization should perhaps play a different role in the life of the plant from the one it played before, I consider this very timely, irrespective of the property conditions.

I believe that we shall be able to work this out within 3 years, by about'90, by the time of the congress, building on scientific analyses in the political workshops. [end recording]

Grosz Meets With CPSU's Georgiy Smirnov

LD0508131088 Budapest MTI in English 1103 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 5 (MTI)—On Friday Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in Budapest Georgiy Smirnov, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society and a noted public personality.

At the cordial meeting Karoly Grosz welcomed the guest as an old acquaintance. He stressed that at present scientists, including staff members of the scientific institutes of the two parties, can do a great deal for the formation of an authentic, unbiased picture on the historic past and present of Hungarian-Soviet relations. He wished further success to the activists of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society in their large-scale work to promote the expansion of contacts between the two peoples and study and utilization of each other's experience.

The meeting was attended by Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Grosz Receives Outgoing GDR Ambassador

LD0308235488 Budapest MTI in English
1913 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 3 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, Dr. Rezso Trautmann, deputy president of the Presidential Council and Istvan Stadinger, the chairman of the parliament met on a farewell visit Karl-Heinz Lugenheim, the ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Budapest who left his post in Hungary on Wednesday.

The Presidential Council awarded Karl-Heinz Lugenheim the Order of the Star decorated with the Golden Wreath of the Hungarian People's Republic, for his active and effective services in the development of Hungarian-GDR relations. The decoration was handed over by Dr. Rezso Trautmann.

Newsmen Visit Romania, Assess Resettlement Plan

LD0508215288 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 5 Aug 88

["Unusual" report from Transylvania by correspondents Zoltan Tamasi and Szabolcs Udvarhelyi; individual correspondents are indistinguishable—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] We are in Csikszereda, Harghita County, where we arrived a few minutes ago from Brasov. Csikszereda is referred to in the Hungarian press in Romania exclusively as Miercurea Ciuc. We have not been able to read any other name for it because although PRAVDA, TRYBUNA LUDU, and RUDE PRAVO can be found in hotels and at news agents, NEPSZABADSAG is still missing.

Csikszereda was the last stop on a journey organized by Romanian radio and TV to mark Romania's national day. I would describe the journey as extremely well-organized and instructive. We have been able to hear a great deal at our stops in Bucharest, the capital, on the Romanian plain of Slobozia, and in Brasov which lies in the Carpathians, about the new Romanian goals, and thus about the new settlement policy as well. You will be able to hear a more detailed account of our trip in August [words indistinct], my colleague Szabolcs Udvarhelyi will now recall one of the most interesting conversations: the subject is resettlement or, as it is called in Romania: systemization [szisztematizalas]. This is undoubtedly an ugly word, but this is what the Hungarian press here uses and this is what sums up in local parlance the regional resettlement program which is much debated and criticized worldwide.

Our hosts called our attention several times to the fact that this program is nothing new. In a sense, it began 20 years ago with the creation of the county system, but until now the most important objective was the development of large towns, and the time has now come for beginning to modernize the village system.

[Name indistinct], head of the Resettlement Planning and Research Institute of Bucharest, told my colleague Zoltan Tamasi and I that according to their plans they wanted to achieve by the year 2000 the abolition of the differences, now far too obvious, between town and village. The easiest way to achieve this, they say here in Romania, is by developing the large communes which have the greatest potential; by concentrating resources there, thus creating urban conditions for those living in these centers and partly for those who would settle in the designated communes which are about to be urbanized.

Urbanization at the moment means three of four-story blocks of apartments which do look quite attractive from the outside. We have seen a few of these in the vicinity of Bucharest, where the implementation of resettlement has already begun in practice. Elsewhere, only the detailed working out of the general concepts have begun, as an architect told us.

This can give rise to differences in interpretation. According to the leaders of Ialomitsa Country, for instance, which lies between Bucharest and the coast, there will not be a single village after the year 2000 with a population of less than 1,000. The Bucharest architect firmly denied that forcible measures might be used in order to depopulate the 2,000 villages which are regarded as having no prospects.

Grosz Meets Print Workers in Bekescsaba

LD0608170588 Budapest MTI in English
1621 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 6 (MTI)—On Saturday Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Bekescsaba on the occasion of the second national meeting of young printers. General Manager Pal Haromszeki of the Kner printing office informed the prime minister on the work of the company, having an annual production value of 2,000 million forints, and on the modernization of the press financed from a 10-million-dollar World Bank loan.

Karoly Grosz attended a forum of some 500 young skilled workers from 35 printing offices. He informed them on the world policy and the economic situation, the current changes in the socialist countries, and the crucial tasks in economic and political renewal in Hungary. The participants spoke about difficulties in retraining and in founding a family, and the not easy situation of provincial printing offices.

3,000 March for Legalization of Solidarity

AU0708153088 Paris AFP in English
1525 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 7 (AFP)—Some 3,000 persons calling on the Polish government to legalize the banned Solidarity trade union demonstrated in the northern port city of Gdansk Sunday, witnesses said.

The demonstration, which was held to commemorate the shipyard workers' strikes in Gdansk in 1980 which led to the creation of Solidarity, took place near a church formally dedicated to the historic agreement between the government and the striking workers.

Referring to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Polish premier General Wojciech Jaruzelski, several demonstrators carried a banner bearing the inscription: "We want Lech, not Wojciech," the witnesses said.

Other signs bore slogans such as "No freedom without Solidarity" and "Solidarity shall overcome."

Police watched the demonstration, which was organized by Dominican friars in Gdansk, but witnesses said no arrests were made and the crowd dispersed peacefully.

More on Gdansk Demonstrations

LD0708191288 Hamburg DPA in German 1733 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—About 3,000 workers demonstrated in Gdansk on Sunday for the banned Solidarity trade union. After a mass in St Brygida church they marched with banners to the old city where they were joined by several thousand people. Although the demonstration continued for about 2 hours, police did not intervene.

Meanwhile the leading body of the trade union—the National Executive Commission of Solidarity (KKW)—has appealed to the population "to remember the rights of the working people" on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the 1980 agreements. To this end programs with demands for higher wages, improved working conditions and the readmission of enterprise organizations of Solidarity should be worked out in all enterprises. The Solidarity leadership notes in this statement, conveyed to Western correspondent on Sunday, a worsening of the material living conditions and mood of the population.

The agreement signed between the striking workers and the government on 31 August 1980 in Gdansk had contained the right to set up free and independent trade unions. [passage omitted]

Conscientious Objector Freed From Jail

AU0608135988 Paris AFP in English
1337 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug. 6 (AFP)—Slawomir Dutkiewicz, a conscientious objector who has been on a hunger strike since he was imprisoned in November, was released Saturday after serving only a third of his sentence, he told Agence France-Presse .

In a telephone interview, Mr. Dutkiewicz, 22, said he felt "greatly weakened" and added that he would undergo extensive medical tests soon.

A member of the banned pacifist movement Freedom and Peace (WIP), he served nine months of a 27-month sentence for refusing to do his two-year military service.

During his imprisonment, Mr. Dutkiewicz was force-fed.

Military authorities agreed to free him after he signed a request to perform so-called alternative military service—three years of public service. [passage omitted]

Market Shortages of Basic Goods Reported

Minister Says Commodity Market Tense

LD0508190888 Warsaw PAP in English
1610 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 5—The Seventh PUWP CC Plenum stressed the necessity of the undertaking by the government of decided actions for increasing production and supplies of many basic market goods. A list of articles which should always be available has already been made. In a statement for PAP Jerzy Jozwiak, minister of the internal market, said that the market is currently characterized by considerable tensions and lack of money-commodity balance.

In the first half of the year out of 29 article groups the domestic market supplies in fifteen groups were lower than a year ago. The concept adopted by the government centers its attention in the first stage on increasing production and supplies of basic articles. The list includes basic food products, items of personal hygiene, children's clothing and shoes, hosiery products as well as medicines. The decisions will make possible the achievement of a market equilibrium.

The programme of increasing supplies of basic articles adopted by the government moves in two directions. The first is increasing the output of the agricultural-food and light industries thanks to the import of production lines for the production of margarine, noodles or pantyhose. Domestic and imported resources have been assured. Secondly—the government decided to increase imports of finished products. In sum two hundred fifty million dollars were allocated to both directions.

At the same time the government decided to apply—with respect to enterprises which produce the articles named on the list—tax allowances for the payment of additional wages. Furthermore bank credits for financing production and stock buildup in trade have been assured.

An increase of supplies and balancing of the market with respect to other commodities, such as household appliances, has been envisaged for next year. The effects of increased supplies of basic articles will be visible especially in the fourth quarter of the year.

Officials Suspended, Warned Over Shortages

LD0608230488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] The public is disturbed by the worsening of the market situation over the last few weeks, especially in the area of the supply of meat, its products, and sugar. The Government Press Office reports that the analysis carried out at the recommendation of Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda revealed that these shortages are not justified by the level of current production or by the reserves of meat and sugar. The causes of the market perturbations are in many cases caused by waste, nonadherance to the principles of allocation, bad distribution, and also particularism in accumulating excessive reserves at the producers. In association with this, voivodes and ministers were obliged to present personnel recommendations in relation to persons responsible for drastic negligence, arbitrariness, and disregard for society's interests. The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recommended disciplinary measures be taken against those responsible.

In any case, the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries has suspended Kazimierz Rejman, director of a Lublin sugar refinery, and has also approached the Workers' Council with a recommendation for his recall from his post. Reprimands have also been given to the directors of the Voivodship Meat Industry Enterprise in Opole, the Regional Meat Industry Enterprise in Warsaw, and the Regional Meat Industry Enterprise in Lukow. Warnings have also been given to the director of the Leszno Sugar Refinery in (Schowa) and to the directors of the Voivodship Meat Industry Enterprise in Elk and the Voivodship Meat Industry Enterprise in Zamosc. Their decisions and activities were contrary to the general societal interest.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers has also, in accordance with the Cooperative Law, addressed Jan Witkowski, the chairman of the Samopomoc Chlopska Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, and Bogdan Augustyn, chairman of the Spolem Central Union of Food Cooperatives, with a recommendation for disciplinary measures against the chairmen of cooperative units answerable for neglect or arbitrariness in the management of meat and processed meats. It was announced that the government will undertake further disciplinary measures intended to eliminate the subjective sources of shortages and disorder in the functioning of institutions serving the population.

Problem of Inactive PZPR Organizations Viewed

PM0508134988 Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 26 Jul 88 p 3

[Zygmunt Rola commentary: "Those Who Are Absent Cannot Be Right"]

[Text] Active involvement and passivity; innovatory ideas and fossilized attitudes; intellectual openness and reasoning in terms of political dogmas: All these characteristics are at the same time equally typical of the work of primary PZPR organizations today. Internal contradictions—whether it be resistance to any fundamental changes in forms and methods of party work or "stepping out of line" by even a pace or two—have always been typical of all crisis periods.

Things are no different today.

For example, in 1987 only in five voivodships (namely, Bydgoszcz, Ciechanow, Katowice, Krosno, and Szczecin) were party meetings held regularly by more than 90 percent of party organizations. By contrast, in four voivodships (Leszno, Olsztyn, Siedlce and Warsaw) over 15 percent of primary party organizations did not manage to hold even half the statutory number of meetings they were obliged to organize. Given that some of the meetings that did actually take place were of a purely formal nature, and that the resolutions adopted at these meetings largely failed to bring any new elements into the life of the relevant primary party organizations—many of which are simply weak and incompetent—the conclusion formulated a year ago, after a review of the work of 350 organizations prior to the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, could not be any different: A significant number of primary party organizations are still unprepared to tackle the tasks following from the 10th PZPR Congress resolutions.

Confirmation of this conclusion can be found in conflicts generated by life itself. In his interview for TRYBUNA LUDU, head of the PZPR Central Committee Political and Organization Department Stanislaw Gabrielski stated that primary party organizations were not involved in solving the thousand or so social conflicts which arose in Poland over the past year. In addition, no early warning signals were given about most of those conflicts by trade union organizations or worker self-management structures, although party members also take part in the work of these bodies. The question is whether they really take part in their work or whether their names just appear on the registers of contributors?

It goes without saying that local communities have little or no confidence in such "absentee" party organizations. One might regard each of these cases as being merely of

local significance were it not for the fact that the results of national public opinion surveys demonstrate clearly that such situations cause a wholesale loss of party credibility with the general public.

Of course, no one should in turn be reassured by the similar loss of credibility suffered by virtually all public institutions and organizations, including the church, which has been demonstrated in the findings of the same surveys. The party itself must undergo fundamental transformations if it is to be regarded as an indisputable authority by the general public, and it can only achieve this through primary party organizations' active, everyday involvement in the life of their communities.

How can this be done? Perhaps comrades from those "absentee" organizations should ask themselves the first and most important question: "What is the meaning of their party membership and what conclusions must follow from it?" Perhaps the same questions should also be put to certain primary party organizations by parish, town, and voivodship party committees.

Urban's 2 Aug Press Conference

AU0508141588 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Aug 88 pp 1, 7

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 2 August]

[Text] Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's weekly press conference at the INTERPRESS Center on 2 August began with questions. Below we present the transcript.

Henryk Skoczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY [WORKERS' VOICE]: In five of the voivodships in which our paper appears, teachers are saying that they will not collect their wages in September because they are too low in relation to wages in industry. As we know, wages in industry have gone up considerably this year. Is the government aware of this situation? What steps is it taking in order to improve the material situation of teachers?

Urban: The government announced a wage increase for teachers much earlier than in previous years, and said how high wages are going to be as of 1 September 1988. The size of the increase was generally approved by the teaching community. But then major wage increases occurred in the production sphere, which may have distorted the proportions between wages in industry and wages in education. At the same time, prices rose. Realizing this, the government allocated extra funds for teachers' wages in July. I wish to stress that the wages table that was published earlier is now going to be withdrawn. Work on a revision to this table is in the final stage, and its results will be published eventually. I cannot and will not provide any details before then, but it is unreasonable to assume that teachers are going to be dissatisfied.

Waldemar Janiec, PAP Foreign Service: There has been a lot of talk about pluralism lately, for example in connection with the planned law on associations. I would like to know what you think about Poles' attitudes toward the system.

Urban: The Public Opinion Research Center has conducted a poll in which a representative part of the Polish population expressed four types of stances. Five percent of the respondents said that the system of authority is good and does not need changing; 43 percent said that basically the system is good, but does require certain changes; over 34 percent said that the system of authority possesses major shortcomings and that major changes are essential; 7.9 percent said that the system is bad and needs to be replaced altogether; and the rest had no comment to make. Thus, over 77 percent of adult Poles expressed views about the system of authority that are similar to or convergent with the views of the authorities themselves, who expressed the need for major changes at the Seventh PZPR Plenum, among other places.

Five percent of the population consists of supporters of socialism with conservative leanings, whereas almost 8 percent oppose our system.

I believe that this general structure of political views creates major possibilities for a national accord that would embrace the majority of Poles, for 92 percent of Poland's adult population is not in favor of a system of authority completely different to the one we already have in Poland. Of course, one also has to bear in mind that the general approval of socialism is accompanied by a great amount of criticism and dissatisfaction with it.

Bogdan Turek, UPI: Allegedly, there are wage disputes in the copper and mining industries. Could you give details?

Urban: Yes, there is a dispute at the "Rudna" mine. It has been extensively reported by the Western press and Western agencies. Although this sounds like a paradox, I believe that the unusual amount of foreign interest in this dispute shows that there is peace and quiet in Poland, and no other sources of sensation. This is quite simply one of many local wage disputes. In any case, the dispute in the "Rudna" mine involves work safety and hygiene. It is a local dispute, and I do not know the details. But I do know that talks are under way. The economic administration is trying to settle this dispute and resolve the problems. But I have no details.

Turek: Have any new details been brought to light by the investigations into the death of Jan Strzelecki?

Urban: The interior minister's offer of a Z5 million award for information which could lead to the apprehension of the perpetrators, to which one must add the Z1 million offered by the Polish Sociological Society, has caused a major response. Many people are offering to help and are providing all kinds of information, which is being checked meticulously. Right now one cannot say if this information is bringing the authorities any closer to the perpetrator or perpetrators. We will see if the award will bring success.

Maria Wagrowska, RZECZPOSPOLITA: What do the Polish authorities think of Foreign Minister Olechowski's U.S. visit?

Urban: The foreign minister has given an interview in which he assessed his U.S. visit. To this I can add that the visit and talks illustrate a further improvement in the climate of Polish-American relations. The high-ranking American interlocutors have a tendency to comment on events in Poland. So they told the foreign minister that although they criticize Poland so often, official Washington has noted and appreciates the progress in Poland, and acknowledges the positive side of the processes in our country. Interest in the Polish economic reform was expressed.

The American interlocutors pointed out that on their part, it will soon be time to take steps to support the Polish economic reform, as soon as it turns out to be effective. However, they did not specify what steps would be made, but announced further talks in the autumn. They stressed that America is not interested in destabilization in Poland; on the contrary, it wants Poland to have a strong position and play a stabilizing role in Europe.

Minister Olechowski was told that if the economic reform provides favorable results in the second half of the year, the U.S. authorities will be ready to help Poland gain economic backing from the international institutions over which the United States has influence.

Of course we realize the double tone of American politics toward Poland and the non-binding nature of many of the assurances and announcements that we hear. However, we admit that there has been a clear, favorable change of tone in the talks, and that the climate is improving all the time.

In our politics, we will try to strengthen and expand this process of improving relations.

Michal Broniatowski, REUTER: I have two questions. I would like to find out about the Pen Club business. It has been said for many years that the Pen Club business is difficult to solve because of legal complications. However, yesterday it turned out that it is very straightforward. My question, therefore, is: Did this business continue for so long simply because there was no political desire to resolve it?

Urban: There has never been an absence of political desire. This issue was not and is not straightforward. Only now has a certain formal solution been found, in other words, the mayor of Warsaw, on the recommendation of the minister of culture, has authorized Mr Zulawski to convene a meeting which will be able to elect a new board. As we know, this is the result of a certain process and certain talks, including talks with Kazimierz Barcikowski, as well as the result of what I may call a joint letter concerning the Pen Club. Remember that demands addressed to the authorities were co-signed by members of the former disbanded board and by Messrs Dobraczynski and Zukrowski. In a word, this is the result of a certain process. We hope there will be a meeting, which Mr Zulawski has been authorized to convene. We hope this meeting will reach a consensus. The point is to make the Pen Club function normally once again, accept new members, and unite the writers' community, not divide it. But, like we have always said, this is up to the writers' community itself.

I can tell you that Culture Minister Krawczuk has personally written to King, the president of the world Pen Club, about his idea, and told Mr King about the steps he has taken, and that Mr Zulawski has already had a letter from the mayor authorizing him to convene this meeting. I can also tell you that Messrs Zulawski and Miedzyrzecki, and perhaps one more writer, are going to Seoul to attend the congress. I cannot say why this extra writer is going, but it is because of his international function, which I cannot define.

Broniatowski: My second question is also on the subject of this process you have talked about. Within the framework of the democratization, can one also expect some kind of meeting between Mr Walesa and high-ranking representatives of the authorities?

Urban: There is no direct forecast for any such meeting right now, but in Poland one can expect anything, or almost anything.

Marian Kafarski, AFP: There are rumors that the Economic Society is to be legalized. Can you tell us anything?

Urban: I have always been optimistic about this. I do not know what stage the talks have reached, because as we know it is a question of adapting this society's activity and scope to the provisions of the law on associations. I believe the society will be registered. In any case, work is in progress on a new law on associations, which will change the situation and resolve a series of matters automatically, as it were.

Krzysztof Lewandowski, KURIER POLSKI: Any comment on the Polish Episcopate's information published by the press in connection with your statement?

Urban: There were inaccuracies in what I said. I also was indiscreet in that I publicly discussed the present state of talks about the bill on associations.

General Pudysz, vice minister of internal affairs, made a statement on that bill, and I wish to add that the construction of the bill is based on certain sociopolitical intentions. The point is to pave the road to freedom of setting up organizations in the form of associations, but not political parties or trade unions. Associations toeing the line of our constitutional political principles would be platforms of broad political pluralism.

The 1981 experiment involving trade unionism as a form of political pluralism and as an object of activities in plants was an unfortunate experiment.

Various associations could be joined by former Solidarity activists who want to preserve their political identity and who are ready to act in accordance with the laws to help promote the country's life and not to cause cataclysms.

We know from experience that plants usually realize their political postulates through various economic demands and through pressure for compensations, because this is the best way to acquire popularity. Such demands would damage the economic reform and the economy.

Plants, which are the main object of reforms, must work in peace and reach important economic goals. It is not in our people's interest to make plants arenas of political disputes. We want a model of public life which allows differing views to be thrashed out in social associations.

Bogdan Turek, UPI: You said that a meeting with Mr Walesa is not out of the question. Can you deny that Mr Ciosek may meet with Mr Walesa?

Urban: I can, because I myself find it difficult to meet with Mr Ciosek.

Beng Scotland, Radio Polonia: All conscientious objectors were released from prisons, except Mr Dutkiewicz, who, they say in the West, is ill because of his hunger strike. Why was he treated differently?

Urban: Those who refused to do military service, but have now agreed to do the new substitute service were released.

Mr Dutkiewicz continues to refuse to do any social work outside the military system, and such refusal is punishable. He will be released if he agrees to do such work.

Western radio stations have reported that Dutkiewicz is unable to do substitute military service and refuses to do it, because he is weak and exhausted. This is avoiding the issue. If Dutkiewicz applied for substitute military service, he would be examined, like every candidate for such service, by a medical commission. If really ill, doctors would declare him unfit for substitute service, because unfit people are not forced to do any service at all.

This means that the Dutkiewicz case is now neither a political nor humanitarian case. It is a strictly individualized freak.

Timothy Heritage, REUTER: What steps does the government envisage to halt the high rate of inflation?

Urban: There are many steps, but the main one is increasing the flow of consumer goods. One way to do this is to increase the import of production materials; to curb investments, especially construction investments and those which take a long time to pay dividends; and to control and interfere with the movement of prices and wages. Another way is, for example, to lay down that certain concessions in connection with exports can be granted only if exporting plants continue to supply the home market with goods at at least the previous year's level. This measure is designed to prevent exports at the cost of the home market.

The price and incomes policy in the second half of the year will differ from that in the first half, because it will curb unjustified wage and price increases in order to halt inflation.

We also continue to discuss the policy in 1989 on the assumption that 1989 will be a year of a clearly reduced inflation rate.

There are also many other ways to counter inflation such as, say, committing people's incomes to goals other than purchases of goods. I have here the Planning Commission's extensive program on how to balance the market and to halt inflation in the second half of this year. I am hard put to summarize this program, which lists all planned measures, so please consult it at your leisure.

Piotr Wilczynski, DPA: Are the Polish authorities trying to recover the Ossolinski Library for Poland? Could the library's resources become accessible to Polish scholars?

Urban: Poland has received back a large part of the Ossolinski Library resources. Such issues are subject to bilateral talks on cultural assets. I have no information in this specific case, but I can stress the present wonderful climate in which to solve such matters, which can be solved in such a way as not to harm the resources held in Lvov and in Vilna and to make it possible for the Polish centers to have access to whatever constitutes Poland's cultural achievements.

Waldemar Janiec, PAP Foreign Service: What about your trip to Radio Free Europe?

Urban: I have written to Mr Pell, head of the Munich radio station, that I would like to arrive in the first half of September. I am waiting for his reply.

On 26 July, the Deutschlandfunk Radio Station in the FRG erroneously commented in this connection that the Radio Free Europe leadership had proposed my trip to Munich. In addition, it broadcast the following: "It goes without saying that the entire matter has created a storm not only in Radio Free Europe itself, but also among the emigrants, who released an avalanche of protests. Alojzy Mazewski, chairman of the U.S. Polonia, was one of the protesters.

"At their meeting with Mr Pell, the employees of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe unanimously disapproved of the plan for Urban's visit. Unfortunately, so far no official protest on the part of these employees has been made either on the air or in some other form. That the Polish team is silent does not help to clarify this very strange incident.

"Defending his decision to invite Urban, Mr Pell said that one should talk with everyone. But one can only be astonished that it was Urban who was chosen for talks. Jerzy Urban does not enjoy too much sympathy among the Polish people, and even the Americans know this. That is why the invitation issued to him to visit Radio Free Europe especially seems not to be too happy a measure. One thing is certain: Only Jerzy Urban will profit by the entire incident. His appearance in Radio Free Europe will certainly make its listeners lose their confidence in it."

Let me explain that Mr Pell is innocent, because he did not select me as a guest of Radio Free Europe.

I note that that the West German station's position on that matter is as follows: It criticizes Mr Pell, incites the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe to make protests, and maliciously professes its hatred of the spokesman for the Polish Government. I declare that not all West German reactions are of this kind. The FRG Government proposed that I should combine my visit to the U.S. unit in Munich with an official visit to the FRG. I was pleased to accept this invitation.

Please, let me explain that I will be on 2-weeks' vacation as of 15 August and that there will be no press conferences for 2 weeks. But there will be a press conference next week.

Statistics on People's Councils Members

LD0508201688 Warsaw PAP in English
1840 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 5—Out of nearly 109 thousand Poland's people's councillors elected to new councils of all levels on June 19 this year 66.8 percent, including 61.1 percent of members of voivodship councils and 67.2 percent of members of local councils, hold their mandates for the first time in their lives. Considerable discrepancies are noted between voivodships in this respect. 28.5 percent of Warsaw municipal councillors do not have any experience in their work while in Czestochowa 85.3 percent of councillors are not experienced in this field.

Some two thirds of councillors are members of political parties while one third is composed of councillors with no party-affiliation. More than 48 thousand councillors are PUWP members, over 20 thousand belong to the United Peasants' Party, over four thousand are members of the Democratic Party and more than 36 thousand are no-party affiliation councillors. The only council in which PUWP members constitute absolute majority is the Katowice Voivodship People's Council.

Women form 22 percent of the total number of councillors, and, comparing to the councils of the previous term, the percent of women holding mandates in people's councils slightly increased. The highest is the participation of women (34.5 percent) in the Lodz municipal people's council.

About 10 percent of voivodship councillors and 12 percent of local councillors are members of youth organizations and activists of the Polish Pathfinders Union (ZHP).

The biggest number of councillors (reaching 69 percent) are aged 35-39.

The majority of voivodship councillors are not blue-collar workers. The difference between the participation of non-workers in voivodship and local councils exceeds 24 points. Another meaningful difference concerns private farmers. Their participation in local councils is almost two times bigger than in voivodship councils. Workers employed outside agriculture constitute the third biggest socio-vocational group represented in the newly elected councils.

OPZZ Official on Role of Trade Unions

LD0708221588 Warsaw PAP in English
1815 GMT 7 Aug 88

["Role of Unions in Labour Disputes"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 7—"The legitimacy of employees' interests is a relative category. What may seem right to workers or us, unionists, does not necessarily have to seem right to managements, administrations. The correctness of opinions may finally be verified during the proceedings specified in the law on trade unions," vice-chairman of the OPZZ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions Stanislaw Bar, said in an interview for PAP.

Bar further stressed that many institutions and state administration bodies do not regard themselves as appropriate partners for trade unions in settling collective disputes. "It happens, therefore, that regulations are interpreted randomly and that there occurs reluctance to eliminate conflicts," he opined.

"The spring strikes were not the result of the lack of appropriate representation of employees' rights by the unions or lack of negotiation activities. They stemmed, first and foremost, from the sluggishness in the realization of postulates by administrations." Simultaneously Bar added that even the shortest pre-strike procedure does not eliminate the possibility of the so-called wild strikes.

"The law on trade unions envisages a number of powers which the trade unions use. For example, unions have the right to opinionate assumptions or drafts of legal acts and decisions concerning the rights and interests of the working people and their families.

"The unions also have a right to participate in preparatory work on drafts of legal acts and decisions. They also have the right to put forward motions on the creation or amendment of a legal act which concerns the rights of the working people. The law on trade unions envisages the administration's duty to assume an attitude to the unions' postulates and opinions. They have the right to sign collective agreements, to perform social supervision over the working and welfare conditiors of employees," the OPZZ vice-chairman pointed out.

Constitutional Tribunal's Role, Acts, Evaluated

LD0808111188 Warsaw PAP in English 0826 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 8—How effective are the actions of the constitutional tribunal which was set up in Poland to monitor the law-abidingness of the law itself, asks PAP journalist Maurycy Kamieniecki and here is his answer:

The evaluation is most certainly not influenced by statistics. The annulment of approximately 20 various defective regulations and four whole normative acts had significance for many thousands of people to which they applied. Not insignificant are also the gains for the state like, for example, the strengthening of the credibility of the legal system.

The effectiveness of decisions made by the constitutional tribunal was mirrored, among other things, in the area of the protection of civil rights. The effects of the tribunal's decisions in this field manifested themselves in the considerable widening of the rights of numerous groups of citizens as a result of the abrogation of certain executive acts which, contrary to the law-makers intention, limited these rights in varying degrees. They were simply faulty in the legal sense and sometimes unconstitutional. The tribunal's activity in this field was presented in "the report of the government of the Polish People's Republic on the realization by Poland of the international covenants of civic and political rights," presented to the U.N. Human Rights commission. "DZIENNIK USTAW", publication announcing current legislation, recently published an ordinance issued by the minister of labour and social welfare annuling the hitherto practice of lowering the domes'ic old age or disability pension of people who also received pensions from abroad. An uninformed reader would not know that this was the effect of the tribunal's actions and a motion filed by the ombudsman questioning the legal validity of the regulations in force in this field for many years which clearly infringed on the law. Without waiting for a decision the new minister informed the tribunal that he would waive the regulation and he did so recently (formulating it in a style characteristic of the new way of thinking: "the benefits awarded to...will be paid to the value specified by the law...). In 1987 there were 5 similar cases of the annulment of disputed regulations after the instigation of proceedings by the tribunal.

The tribunal's verdict not only settles a concrete legal problem but also constitutes a precedent which signalizes the correct interpretation of the Constitution. This is connected with the long-term effectiveness of the tribunal's actions. The idea is the working out of certain rules for legislative practice which must conform to the contents of the Constitution and regulations. Particularly important are the tribunal's verdicts which specify the interpretation of the Constitution.

Last year the constitution tribunal in its verdicts referred to the Constitution 14 times. This way the Constitution stops being simply a political programme.

Origin, Purpose of Military Inspections Viewed

AU0308113288 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Aug 88 p 2

[Major Jerzy Markowski commentary: "Inspectors"]

[Text] I have recently had an opportunity to meet in Poland with military inspectors from a NATO country. This time they were American officers, though in the future they might equally well be from the FRG, Great Britain, Denmark, or any other signatory of the Stockholm final document. What are they doing here? What have they come for? These are the questions one hears most of all. So let us explain who the military inspectors are and what tasks they have to perform.

As we know, the process of building a safer Europe, initiated by the Helsinki Final Act, is not over. One stage of this process in the military sphere was the signing on 19 September 1986, at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, of agreements which regulate for the first time in European disarmament history all peacetime military activity between the Atlantic and the Urals. The agreements call for a whole series of practical

measures which would viably reduce the danger of armed conflict in Europe or prevent erroneous interpretations of military activity in peacetime. It is these measures that are described as confidence-building measures, for they are meant to justify a lack of hostile intentions on the part of nations holding military exercises, and to reaffirm already-declared peaceful intentions. The adoption of these measures by the countries of Europe is supposed to strengthen the conviction that any military activity is purely routine and does not endanger the security of any country. In this way, the measures are meant to create a climate of greater, mutual confidence.

And these very measures, agreed to in Stockholm by 33 European countries plus the United States and Canada, include two that involve people in uniform, in other words observers of exercises, maneuvers, and other military activity, plus military inspectors at the scene of such activity. For it has been decided that each of these 35 countries has the right to hold an inspection in any other country it wishes in the area where these confidence and security-building measures are applied, in other words the area between the Atlantic and the Urals. Although the abovementioned inspection was the first of its kind in Poland, there have already been similar ones in the GDR, Turkey, FRG, and elsewhere. Such inspections may occur not only when there is a military exercise, but any time the inspecting country wants, because inspections take place at the request of a country. Nevertheless, there are certain limitations, for example not more than three inspections can be carried out in any one country during any one year. Furthermore, the country due to be inspected does not have to agree to more than one inspection by the same country in any one year. Two types of inspections have been agreed on, on the ground and from the air, whereby both may be carried out at the same time. The country wishing to make an inspection must give technical details and state the reasons. A reply must be given within 24 hours. An inspection team may consist of not more than four men who may work in two separate groups, should they wish to divide tasks between them. The time taken by an inspection has been set at 48 hours. During this time, the country hosting the inspectors, who enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunity during their inspection, guarantees them board and lodging and medical treatment if necessary. Of course, that does not mean the inspectors cannot use their own tents and bring their own food. While on the subject of using things, inspectors may use their own maps, cameras, binoculars, tape recorders, and air charts. They can also ask questions of commanders and soldiers, and establish the route to be taken by a helicopter, for example. So, they have to be exceptionally well prepared for their inspection. Although they are normally accompanied by officers of the inspected country, these merely fulfill the wishes of the inspectors. An exception is posed by so-called restricted areas in an inspection zone, to which inspectors only have limited access. Which of such areas they can enter depends on the host country. But generally, it has been accepted that an area of inspection should not exceed the size of the combat area of an army.

Even though the above information is far from complete, it is enough to show that the inspectors have to be experts in their field. Their selection cannot be a question of coincidence, and they will not be able to complain about having nothing to do. Thus, the CSCE participating countries are in the process of forming permanent inspection teams. So are we, if we want to make the most of our rights. By the way, the American inspectors spoke excellent Russian, and distinguished themselves with their personal tact and knowledge of their mission and accompanying conditions.

Inspectors are establishing a new quality of mutual military relations on both sides of the Elbe. And there is no doubt that they are making a major contribution to the work of military detente and removing the stereotypes of hostility. Without this work, one cannot imagine the building of a system of European security.

VOA Criticized for Report on 'Warsaw 1944'

LD0508185588 Warsaw PAP in English 1535 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 4—Every anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, the heroic and tragic elan by the inhabitants in 1944 against the German occupation, brings about numerous and frequently not uncontroversial articles both in Poland and abroad. This time, during the 44th anniversary there appeared one of the most absurd publications of an exceptionally vicious character. That is a commentary by the West German paper "DIE WELT" entitled "Warsaw 1944".

The Bonn daily simply suggests that the blame for the crimes committed on Warsaw falls on Soviet forces.

Since September 1st, 1939 (the beginning of the German aggression on Poland) up to January 17th, 1945 (Warsaw's liberation) the Army and police of the Nazi Third Reich busied themselves without respite in destroying Poland's capital and its population. The German authorities were correct in thinking that despite beastly terror Warsaw remained the capital of independent Poland. The three main phases of the city's total destruction were: September 1939 (a barbaric siege), April and May 1943 (the annihilation of the Jewish Quarter) and finally, the Warsaw uprising followed by three months of systematic burning down and razing to the ground those parts of Warsaw which survived five years of German occupation.

One has to be as brazen-faced as the editors of "DIE WELT" to write anything about the Warsaw uprising in this case in a different tone than regret and humility from crimes against mankind.

The question: Why is the Voice of America mentioned in the headline, must come to mind. The Polish-language section of the station broadcast "DIE WELT'S" above mentioned commentary on August third. It goes beyond doubt that one must wonder what were the editors of the VOA guided by in broadcasting this type of text to Polish listeners without an appropriate commentary. Do they think that Poles have forgotten who murdered hundreds of thousands of Varsovians and reduced the city to rubble. It may be said that this is the 66 thousand dollar question.

French Journalist's Home Ransacked

LD0708222688 Paris Domestic Service in French 1700 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] The home of French correspondent Bernard Marguerite—he works for the fifth channel, Europe One, and West France—near Warsaw was ransacked last night by unknown persons and for unknown reasons. The father-in-law of Bernard Marguerite, who is 84, was seriously injured in the head and face after being slashed several times with a knife. The elderly man was babysitting the journalist's two children. We have come from Warsaw to do this, said one of the attackers to one of the children, because we hate your father. Here is Bernard Marguerite, questioned by Marie-Christine Lotus from France-info:

[Begin recording] [Marguerite] The apartment was in an absolutely appalling state; there were bloodstains everywhere. Everything has been smashed, all the [word indistinct] of the television, the video recorder, etc, have been smashed to bits. They took virtually nothing excerpt my papers; in other words, credit cards, a French checkbook, a driving license, etc. Apart from this destruction, they mistreated my father-in-law. They did not gain much from their actions. The fact that they attacked a man of 84 in the way they did, is of course not just atrocious but quite incomprehensible. If they had wanted to steal, all they had to do was immobilize him. Instead they obviously attacked him and then afterwards destroyed the household appliances etc. So I have a lot of questions to ask. [end recording]

An inquiry has been opened. The charge d'affaires at the French embassy in Warsaw went to the scene this morning.

Polish-GDR Shipping Service to Far East Set Up

PM0308135388 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 16-17 Jul 88 pp 1-2

["Own correspondent" report: "Eacon-Service Launched: Polish-GDR Shipping Consortium"]

[Text] The joint Polish-GDR shipping consortium launched yesterday constitutes a new form of cooperation between shipowners from socialist countries. The consortium will serve all major Asian markets. The name of the new line is Euro-Asia Container Service, abbreviated to Eacon-Service. According to an agreement signed December last year, it will use the fleets of DSR-Lines Rostock and Polish Ocean Lines [PLO] of Gdynia.

The new service will integrate several shipping markets which were previously serviced by separate shipping lines belonging to PLO and DSR. These markets are in the Persian Gulf area, on the Indian subcontinent (from Karachi through Colombo to Chittagong), in Southeast Asia and in the countries of the Far East.

The service will use a PLO ship and DSR ships of the Saturn and Equator type. Every 2 weeks they will call at the following ports along their routes: Gdynia, Rostock, Hamburg, Bremerhaven, Antwerp, Larnaca (Cyprus), Khawr Fakkan, Colombo, Singapore, Hong Kong, Kobe, Tokyo, Pusan (South Korea), Hong Kong, Singapore, Colombo, Larnaca, and thence back via the same route to Gdynia. The round trip is expected to take 84 days.

The ports mentioned above will be connected with inland facilities by means of transport networks. For example, Khawr Fakkan will be the base port for the countries of the Persian Gulf and Pakistan, Colombo for all the remaining countries of the Indian subcontinent, and Singapore for Malaysia, Indonesia, and Bangladesh.

The annual plan is for 26 sailings along the entire route, but the Equator-type ships will make a dozen or so additional journeys to Colombo. This "timetable" will remain in force until 1990, that is, until the Eacon-Service fleet receives two more PLO ship. These will be cellular container ships which are being built for the Polish shipping line. Thanks to the new service Polish foreign trade now obtains additional regular shipment capacities from Gdynia to the major Asian markets.

Trade Meeting Held With Cuban Minister Sosa

LD0208184188 Warsaw PAP in English 1635 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 2—Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Wojcik met on Tuesday with Cuban Minister of Internal Trade Manuel Vila Sosa.

The two discussed economic cooperation and trade between both countries with particular regard to intensification of the supplies of marketables.

The Cuban minister also held plenary talks with Domestic Market Minister Jerzy Jozwiak on supplies of consumer goods in 1988.

Vila Sosa, chairman of the Cuban delegation, also met with First Vice-Chairman of the Government Planning Commission Franciszek Kubiczek.

Talks Held on Debt Resettlement With Japan

LD0608210488 Warsaw PAP in English
1829 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 6: The first round of talks concerning the settlement of Polish debt to Japan ended here today. Poland was represented by a delegation of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and the Commercial Bank while Japan, by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of International Trade and Industry and the Export-Import Bank of Japan.

The negotiations concerned bilateral agreement on rescheduling the debt ensuing from the agreements concluded by Poland with the Paris Club. The main problem is the high interest rate to be applied to the debt which was initially to be repaid between 1985 and 1988 (this concerns credits from the export import bank of Poland and the government-guaranteed exports).

During the talks the sides agreed on the new interest rates for the debt and initialled a draft of the final agreement concerning the 1985 payments. The matter of the agreement to cover the payments for the years 1986-1988 remain open and will be discussed during future negotations.

PUWP's Czyrek Meets EEC Parliamentarians

LD2406051288 Warsaw PAP in English
1810 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 23—A delegation of the European People's Party (Christian-Democrat) of the European Parliament headed by its chairman, Egon Alfred Klepsch (FRG) ended a four-day visit to Poland today.

The delegation, which arrived at the invitation of the Sejm, was composed of two vice chairmen of the European Parliament and deputies from Belgium, France, Greece, the Netherlands, the FRG, and Italy.

The delegation of the European People's Party of the European Parliament headed by Egon Alfred Klepsch was today received by Jozef Czyrek, a PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC secretary. The sides discussed some issues of East-West relations especially on the CMEA-EEC plane. Czyrek presented the Polish assessment of the possibilities of an improvement in the situation in Europe, stressing the importance of the Polish plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe.

The Polish side pointed to possible planes of cooperation, especially joint activities for peace and disarmament and the normalization and multi-lateral development of economic contacts with the EEC. The importance of the establishment of contacts with the European Parliament was underscored.

During a press conference for Polish and foreign newsmen, Klepsch stressed that this was the first official visit of members of the European Parliament to socialist countries since the agreement between the CMEA and the EEC was initialled. This agreement will open a new period in contacts between both these communities, he said.

I think that Poland has conditions to become a model partner in these contacts, one with whom the EEC would in the first place establish diplomatic relations, sign a trade agreement and start to implement a program of exchange and assistance. The next stage, providing that in the first one the development of contacts is positive, would be the signing of a cooperation agreement, the head of the delegation said.

Klepsch referred to the Polish idea of holding a meeting of the chairmen of parliaments of states participants in the CSCE. I see no difficulties in this respect from our side. In the future one can expect regular contacts between the European Parliament and the Polish Sejm, he stated.

The topics of talks conducted in Poland also included matters of international security and disarmament. Unanimity was stated on such matters as efforts to bring down the nuclear potential, to introduce a global ban on chemical weapons as well as a limitation of conventional arms and building confidence measures.

The guests expressed a hope that the program of assistance for Polish agriculture would be completed successfully. They announced that after 1992, the date of the planned lifting of border checks inside the Common Market, one could expect that one visa would suffice for all countries of the community. Appropriate international agreements which take force as of January 1, 1993, would, however, have to be signed, the parliamentarians pointed out.

Referring to his meetings in Poland, Klepsch stated: Poland has always been a country where dialogue has been the deepest. During our visit we could state that all milieus are trying to make use of the chance which the reform creates in Poland. We are following the changes taking place in your country with interest. We are returning home with the awareness that we observed an important phase of your development and express a hope that it will reach a successful conclusion. On our part we will do what is possible for Polish reforms to gain the possibly best start in the international forum.

ILC Meeting Assessed by Polish Delegates

LD2406211288 Warsaw PAP in English
1915 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 24—Polish Minister of Labour and Social Policy Ireneusz Sekula met with newsmen in Warsaw today to assess the 75th Session of the International Labour Conference at which he headed the Polish delegation. The labour minister told the newsmen:

"The 75th Session of the International Labour Conference which ended two days ago closed the so-called Polish issues. At the same time a long-term process has begun of returning to full normalization of Poland's relations with the ILO, of developing mutually advantageous cooperation. The Geneva debates confirmed the mutual will to expand these contacts. Independently of the formal outcome of the session which is positive for us, the most important matter is to create lasting foundations for resuming Poland's active presence at the ILO."

Vice chairman of the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union alliance Jerzy Uzieblo (representative of employees) informed the newsmen about an attempt to undermine the representative character of the trade union part of the Polish delegation by representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labour to which "Solidarnosc" is affiliated.

"Jerzy Milewski of the Brussels bureau of "Solidarnosc" was among those who attacked the Polish Government. Kazimierz Obsadny (a representative of about four thousand trade unions outside the OPZZ) delivered a balanced reply which was well received by a majority of the participants of this group. He honestly presented the Polish reality, its pluralists character," Uzieblo said.

Mieczyslaw Wilczek, the owner of the Labil company (representative of employers) said: "My participation in the composition of the delegation was treated in Geneva as proof that the changes which are taking place in Poland as regards the private sector are real and lasting. I briefed the meeting on the changes in our law which enable the operation of foreign capital in Poland. Information about the draft law on economic activities with foreign capital was received with interest. It was assessed that these changes do not differ from the principles of foreign capital investment adopted in the West. I took part in a meeting with a group of entrepreneurs who are preparing to cooperate with East European countries, including Poland. An opinion prevailed there that the economic reforms being introduced in our countries give rise to hopes that one will be able to do business with them."

Report on Summer Camp for USSR's Polish Youth

AU2707154788 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 25 Jul 88 p 2

[Report by "pil": "The Fulfillment of a Dream"]

[Text] The fresh winds that have been blowing in from the east made the "Polonia" Society decide to come forward with a proposal for organizing a Polish summer camp for young people from the Soviet Union.

The Soviet side took up the proposal. The result is that 118 boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 15 are attending a summer camp at Kijane near Lublin.

Adam Dutkiewicz, one of the participants, recalls: "The consul came to our Polish school in Lwow. What he saw impressed him very much, and he proposed that the 10 best students from the seventh and eighth grades go to Poland. The participants in the summer camp have been chosen from among the best."

Like Adam, the great majority of the participants in the summer camp attend Polish schools, have chosen to speak Polish, and know the history of our country. Last week, when the government press spokesman answered a question about the crime at Katyn, it happened that many of the young people had heard of the affair.

Most of the young people are from the Wilno and Lwow regions, although some of them also come from Novosibirsk, Yerevan, Sukhumi, Tashkent, and Leningrad....

Jola Steckiewicz, who comes from Ejszyszek, near Wilno, says that the only people who could go to Poland were those who, in addition to getting very good grades, were actively involved in the Pioneers. Jola also attends a Polish school. Jola is a real polyglot, because, in addition to Polish, she is studying Lithuanian, Russian, and German, which are compulsory subjects...

Most of the youngsters are in Poland for the first time. They found Wawel fascinating, and they liked Warsaw, Kazimierz, and Sandomierz very much. Andrius Malinauskas (his mother is Polish and his father Lithuanian) thinks that material and cultural standards are higher in Poland than in many parts of the USSR.

The young people learn about Poland at school, hear about it from their parents, and listen to Polish radio. Those who can, watch our television programs; and there is the Polish press. They have no trouble at all naming Polish newspapers and magazines, including SZTANDAR MLODYCH. A team from the summer camp at Kijany won the "I Know the Land of My Fathers" contest, in which teams from 20 Polish summer camps took part.

There are many more candidates for places at summer camps in the USSR. More dreams will surely be fulfilled next year, because there are plans to organize two or three summer camps for young people from the Soviet Union.

Glowczyk Addresses Cuban Youth Delegation

AU0208175688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jul 88 p 2

[Report on speech by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, given at his 26 July meeting with a delegation of Cuban youth visiting Poland—place not given]

[Text] Speaking of the present changes in Poland, J. Glowczyk noted the importance of the recent seventh Central Committee plenum, which evaluated the effectiveness of the realization of the 10th party congress

decisions and stressed the role of political methods of party activities, which should reject all command and bureaucratic features. The basic task in this connection is to commit as many citizens as possible to the processes of social reforms, overcome passivity, and trigger initiative. It is also necessary to extend democracy by creating new forms and by enriching its old forms. Radical social and economic changes, J. Glowczyk continued, should go hand in hand with changes in thinking and in old habits, attitudes, and customs. This can be done on the strength of one's experience and the experience of other parties and countries.

Speaking of M. Gorbachev's visit to Poland, J. Glowczyk stressed that it was an unprecedented visit among visits paid by leaders of the socialist and capitalist countries. The Polish people were greatly impressed, not only by M. Gorbachev's respect for Poland's specific conditions, traditions, and history, but also by his spontaneity and naturalness.

J. Glowczyk also answered questions about the party's stand on the issues of the younger generation, stressing its independence in solving its own problems.

Ilie Ceausescu, Romanian Army Delegation Visit

AU2907190088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, AGERPRES 29/7/1988—A delegation of party activists of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, headed by Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy national defense minister and secretary of the Army Higher Political Council, paid a working visit to Poland, over 25-29 July.

The Romanian delegation was received by Florian Siwicki, national defense minister of Poland. During the visit, experience was exchanged on problems of the party organizational and politicoeducational work at the Principal Political Department of the Polish Army, and at party organs headquarters of military commands and learning institutions.

Jaruzelski Receives Brazilian CP Leader

LD2907162388 Warsaw PAP in English 1514 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Salomao Malina, the chairman of the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP) who is currently on a Polish visit following an invitation from the PUWP Central Committee. The present visit is the first official visit ever paid to Poland by a BCP leader.

In a friendly talk, the two exchanged information on social and political situation in both countries, and discussed major operation courses of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Brazilian Communist Party.

The sides stressed the historic importance of the processes which were taking place in the theory and practice of socialism building and underscored the need to increase efforts toward consolidation of peace, disarmament, peaceful settlement of conflicts and tensions in various parts of the world in keeping with international law and in respect of sovereign will of nations.

The talk between the two focussed also upon development of cooperation between the PUWP and the Brazilian Communist Party.

Jaruzelski Meets With Vietnamese Minister

LD2907161588 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—PUWP CC First Secretary and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Political Bureau Member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and Socialist Republic of Vietnam's Minister of the Interior Mai Chi Tho.

In a friendly talk, the two highly praised the state of Polish-Vietnamese relations and stressed that their further development was in the interest of the peoples of the two friendly countries as well as to the advantage of consolidation of peace and socialism.

The meeting was attended by PUWP CC Political Bureau Member and Poland's Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak, and by Vietnamese Ambassador to Poland Nguyen Trong Thuan.

Bulgaria Launches Anti-Yugoslav 'Campaign'
LD0808132488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1234 GMT 8 Aug 88

["Anti-Yugoslav Campaign in Bulgaria," by Djordje Milosevic—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 8 (TANJUG)—Bulgaria's propaganda used this year's anniversary of Ilinden, the Macedonian people's holiday, to launch greater-Bulgarian stands and ideas, describing the 85th anniversary of the uprising of the Macedonian people as a "significant date in Bulgaria's history." It also repeated the well-known denial of the Macedonian nation, describing as Bulgaria's the struggle of the Macedonian nation and laying territorial claims on Yugoslavia.

Numerous articles and speeches, all containing markedly anti-Yugoslav and anti-Macedonian overtones, described Ilinden as a "bright episode of Bulgaria's liberation struggle." The Yugoslav Republic of Macedonian was described as "purely Bulgarian land," while the Macedonians ended up as Bulgarians according to the same distorted logic.

Authors of the articles and some officials revived the Treaty of San Stafano and Greater Bulgaria which, in their imagination, includes not only Macedonia, but a considerable part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia as well. Some Sofia dailies said that the "Macedonian nation question" was not resolved, but was put off for later because of current political reasons.

The anti-Yugoslav and anti-Macedonian campaign in Bulgaria is clearly out of step with expressions of alleged readiness for development of goodneighbourly cooperation with Yugoslavia. It is also in sharp contrast to current efforts aimed at developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans as stated at the ministerial meeting in Belgrade and elsewhere.

The campaign is also in contrast with indications of democratic social changes in Bulgaria. The question is how can there be talk about democratization of social relations when one persistently and intransigently embraces the same unacceptable and historically false stands at a time when some other countries do not hesitate to admit the mistakes of the past and invest efforts to eliminate them.

Bulgarian Claims Viewed
LD0508185288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Sofia, Aug 5 (TANJUG)—The 85th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising of the Macedonian people on August 2, 1903 was once again in neighbouring Bulgaria used as an opportunity for negating the Macedonian nation, appropriating its history and national liberation struggle and even laying claims on the territory of Yugoslavia.

Sofia is again proclaiming Macedonia, one of Yugslavia's six republics, as "purely Bulgarian soil," even though it is well known that it never was part of the Bulgarian state, except during World Wars One and Two when it was occupied by the Bulgarian Army.

In some thirty articles and comentaries on the occasion, including all central Sofia newspapers and the party daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the Macedonian people were again proclaimed as Bulgarians, who were allegedly only waiting to join "mother Bulgaria."

Official Sofia continues to lead a double policy towards Yugoslavia - laying claims on its territory and negating the existence of one of its peoples while at the same time offering good neighbourliness and cooperation.

The maintaining of the illusion of having "own territories" in the nearest neighbourhood is not only damaging to relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria but is dangerous for the overall situation in the Balkans and the readiness expressed so far for a different climate in relations in this part of the European continent.

Daily Interviews Polish Philosopher Schaff
AU0508193288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 88 p 7

[Report on interview with Polish Marxist Philosopher Adam Schaff by Nikola Burzan, BORBA permanent correspondent—place and date not given]

[Text] Warsaw, Jul —Famous Polish Marxist Philosopher Prof Dr Adam Schaff (75) who does not mince his written and spoken words and whose thoughts are unconventional (which led to his expulsion from the PZPR 4 years ago, although he is still persona grata here) recently told the Krakow monthly ZDANIE that we shall soon start criticizing various ideas of Lenin.

Professor Schaff has promptly done so: Speaking about Lenin's work "The State and Revolution," he said that not one of its theses has ben confirmed and that, if there are banned books at all, this book should be among them, because it harms Marxism-Leninism!

Prof Schaff gladly agreed to give a special interview for BORBA and explain what he meant by this.

"I really said something like that, but that was said with a certain idea behind it—to incite debate and thought about mistakes from the past. Where are the sources and causes of these errors and mistakes and, even more, the wrong policy, for which we are now paying? Today, when everybody is attacking Stalin and when that is not only permitted, but also fashionable, I really think that there is not only the 'question of Stalin.'

"Today all socialist countries go through serious problems. All of them, without exceptions. If we are responsible politicians, Marxists, and Communists—and we all

say we are—then we have to ask ourselves: Where do the causes of our present troubles lie? I have recently been studying just this, because I feel I share the responsibility, as I have belonged to the movement for the last 57 years.

Marxism Is Not To Blame [subhead]

[Burzan] What conclusions did you arrive at?

[Schaff] I claim that Marxism is not at all to blame, as its enemies and opponents in the West assert. Its interpreters are to blame, those people who called and are still calling themselves Marxists, who do not behave in a Marxist way, but often even behave in an anti-Marxist way. Marxism bears no responsibility, which does not mean that there are no mistakes in it and no thoughts that are now outdated. I can prove, and I have been doing so in my books, that all socialist countries have applied Marxism contrary to its principles. There are therefore some tragic consequences. This should be said openly and clearly....

[Burzan] Yes, professor, do say....

[Schaff] For example: If 3 million people in Ethiopia today are almost on the point of starvation, this is not because socialism is bad or because Marxism is bad, but because those people who introduce such socialism are doing so contrary to Marxism. This is the case with Angola, Mozambique, and other countries where, unfortunately, the moment one starts introducing socialism, starvation starts. Is that normal?

On the other hand, the great industrial and technological revolution in the West inevitably leads to socialism. Had it not been for our socialist countries, the West would have said that they had already built socialism. However, they will never call it socialism, because we act as counterpropaganda. This should be analyzed, the causes found, and one should see what happened in the past, so that the same mistakes are not repeated and so that we could correct them. This is the starting point of my thinking....

[Burzan] When talking about openness and breaking taboos, you do not mean only Lenin I suppose?

[Schaff] No, this results from our ideology and theory, from Marxist theory, which is a revolutionary theory. However, there can be no revolutionary theory and ideology that would stop before the taboo of one great sacred name or the other. There are no such names, including even the creators of the doctrine—Marx and Engels. We do not withdraw in awe before them and we say—and one should say—what was incorrect and wrong in their views. For they were only human. When Marx was asked—and it seems that he was asked very often—what a socialist society should look like, he always refused to reply. He said: I am a scientist and not a prophet....

Criticism Has Already Started [subhead]

[Burzan] However, let us go back to the question from the beginning of the interview. You started the question of Lenin and his mistakes?

[Schaff] I started it, so what? Is Lenin perhaps a saint? Are our ideology and theory a religion? Marxism is a science, and it is a characteristic of every science to change along with the development of reality. It sometimes turns out that certain theses that were considered correct are in fact wrong. For Marxism, practice is the highest criterion of truth. If practice has shown that something does not work, that it is bad, then that is the highest criterion. Nobody, no authority—although we are not against authorities—cannot become a divine authority.

All sorts of things are said about Stalin nowadays, often wrong and incorrect things. Now, let me explain; I do not defend Stalin, but I can prove that many things are attributed to him erroneously. And one cannot limit oneself to Stalin, or we shall make a mistake again.

[Burzan] Let us, however, return to Lenin....

[Schaff] All right. I have said: We shall criticize Lenin in 2 to 3 years. I have made a mistake. The monthly NOVYY MIR, No 5, carried an article entitled "Istochniki" ("Sources") which includes a grave, terrible criticism of Lenin. Therefore, it has started. And this is how it must be. But that does not mean that Lenin was not a great man, a great thinker, a great leader, a great authority.

We now speak about Marxism-Leninism. When somebody is told that he has violated Marxism-Leninism, that is the same as having committed a sacrilege. I do not know at all what Marxism-Leninism is! I am sorry, but although I am literate and a scientist, I do not know. For there was no Leninism in Lenin's time; there was only Marxism. The new term was made after Lenin's death as a way of paying tribute to him.

This, you see, is a dangerous thing. If we continue to add the name of every great leader to Marxism, we shall have Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, and then Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, or some others perhaps. Our theory, doctrine, and ideology is Marxism.

[Burzan] Professor, Leninism as a system of views seems nevertheless to exist. Or do you think differently?

[Schaff] Since there was no Leninism in Lenin's time, that which was later implied under the term was not Leninism but Stalinism! This is, in fact, codification that Stalin applied to various theories that really originated from Lenin, but in a form given to them by Stalin, which is very dangerous.

Of course, there are Lenin's genuine and original views. However, they also cannot be spared criticism only because he is a saint; with all respect to his personality, work, thought, and practice. However, if something was wrong, then one should openly say so....

[Burzan] Are you talking about "The State and Revolution" and its wrong theses?

[Schaff] That book is mentioned most often, but it seems that one has long forgotten what was written in it. The way it is read today differs from how it was read 20, 30, or 50 years ago. For instance, I think that the stance that socialism can be built wherever one wants to do so, irrespective of specific conditions, is completely wrong, deeply non-Marxist, even—anti-Marxist. To build socialism "honoris causa" as it is done throughout Africa, is very harmful to socialism and Marxism.

This is why I say that Lenin was wrong in his dispute with Kautsky, Plekhanov, and Rosa Luxemburg in 1917. Lenin called Kautsky a renegade which is how history refers to him and how people who never read anything by Kautsky and very little by Lenin think of him. They know only the title of the book. I have read and analyzed everything once again and have come to the deep conviction that concerning the dispute about the possibility of a socialist revolution in Russia, it was Kautsky who was right, and not Lenin. Why one must not say today that Lenin was wrong? Not only may one say so, but he should say so, at the very moment when the entire world communist movement experiences a grave crisis. We must not withdraw in awe before any authority or any sacred thing....

A Kind of "Manilovism" [subhead]

[Burzan] So everything in "The State and Revolution" is wrong?

[Schaff] I state with responsibility: There is not a single great thesis there which has been confirmed! Everything is wrong! Why? There are two possible explanations: Either Lenin failed to understand the situation or he erred deliberately, which is impossible and would be awful. Therefore, he did not understand the situation. Do you remember that character in Gogol's "Dead Souls" whose name is Manilov and on the basis of whom the term "Manilovism" was derived? We are obliged to make a thorough revision of all that, because nothing is true. These are children's stories. True, they are pretty fairy tales which were at that time revolutionaries' dreams. However, then came reality and the sobering up.

This is what I mean, this is the main message I want to convey, not only about Lenin, but also about our entire past, the past of the communist movement. We are now obliged to use our own heads, to think on the basis of our own knowledge, for socialism is in crisis, it is threatened by great danger, even a catastrophe. We must draw conclusions more quickly; we have no time to lose. Time flies, and in the struggle between two systems, the last word has not yet been said.

It is true that there are some reforms in socialism all the time, but it is also true that none of these reforms was successfull! Why? Shall we therefore give up socialism? We certainly shall not.

[Burzan] Are there some very serious people who claim that socialism cannot be reformed?

[Schaff] If one says so then it is the end. One can carry out reforms under the condition that no limit will be set to the reform. I shall invoke Lenin again but this time in a positive sense: In 1921, after military communism, when he realized the consequences, he had the courage to retreat—not a step or two, but 10 steps—and to carry out the new economic policy. That was, in fact, a reintroduction of capitalist economy, but within a state in which the Communist Party was in power. It was later interrupted by Stalin, although Lenin believed that it was a model for the entire epoch.

I can tell you this: The only ones who are following this spirit are the Chinese. They gave land to peasants, enjoy support of the vast majority of the society, the country is developing well, and not only are the people no longer hungry, but the country exports food!

Reforms in socialism will be successful only if they are without brakes and limits. The only condition is not to give away the power in one's hands, but that is another matter....

[Burzan] What then?

[Schaff] We must go back to real sources—Marx and Marxism. That is not religion. However, that what is sold today under the title Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with Lenin....

Loncar Holds Talks With FRG's Genscher

Usefulness of Talks Stressed

LD0508224188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2150 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Zadar, August 5 (TANJUG)—The political dialogue between Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany is very useful for the development of bilateral relations, contributing significantly to the increasingly favourable trends on the European Continent and in the world, it was confirmed this evening at the end of the second day of a visit to Yugoslavia by West German Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

In talks with Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, Genscher showed interest in the economic situation in Yugoslavia and the latest measures in this regard. In his assessment, the Yugoslav Government opted for bold and energetic reforms to deal with economic problems.

Loncar thanked for Bonn's direct support to Belgrade, as well as support from its Western partners, for upholding Yugoslavia's negotiating position on debt rescheduling and financial arrangements.

As learned, Genscher said that the Federal Republic of Germany was ready to continue such activity.

Loncar stated Yugoslavia's commitment to and interest in the closest possible ties with the European Community, but also, in accordance with its pluralistic political concept, in joining other European integration trends.

During a very frank dialogue, Genscher said that the Soviet perestroyka in all its aspects was bringing not only major internal transformations, but that it also had very encouraging and far-reaching repercussions in changes on the international political scene.

The two ministers also exchanged views on new initiatives for a successful end of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Noting that the platform of the European neutral and nonaligned countries has a content acceptible to all and that, with some changes, it might be adopted, Genscher said his government was interested in the work of the Vienna CSCE conference being stepped up and brought to the earliest possible conclusion.

Loncar and Genscher also discussed the situation in the Iran-Iraq war following Tehran's decision to accept U.N. Security Council Resolution 598, the situation in the Middle East in the light of Jordanian King Husayn's statement renouncing the rights to the occupied West Bank, and developments in southern Africa.

On the developing countries' debt they noted that the problem concerned not only those countries but the entire world, including the industrialized countries.

Loncar and Genscher also discussed the activity of the nonaligned countries before their ministerial meeting in Nicosia.

Talks Conclude

LD0608203788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] Zadar, 6 Aug (TANJUG)—The relations between the FRG and the SFRY are exceptionally good, and there is every chance that they will be improved and further enhanced. This is the joint conclusion of the foreign ministers of the two countries, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Budimir Loncar, following their exhaustive working dialogue in Zadar over the past 3 days.

During his press conference in Hotel Barbara at the end of his visit the West German vice chancellor and foreign minister stressed that the exemplary relations between the two countries in many respects also apply to cooperation between the EC and Yugoslavia. The establishment of the single internal market within the framework of the EC starting in 1992, in his opinion, also provides great prospects for other countries which wish to cooperate with the EC and with its member countries. Welcoming Yugoslavia's participation in some Eureka projects, the West German minister gave assurances that an open initiative was involved and that the EC wants Yugoslavia to be involved more in this program.

Our guest insisted especially on the institutionalization of the political dialogue between the EC and Yugoslavia. We think highly of Yugoslavia as a European and nonaligned country, said Genscher, adding that he followed with great interest his interlocutor's statement on the preparations for the forthcoming nonaligned ministerial conference in Nicosia.

Budimir Loncar, the federal secretary of foreign affairs, said that the two parties had shown a very broad agreement during the talks which provides a basis for the further development of mutual relations. For a long time now these relations have been developing positively. The changes occuring in Europe and in the world also represents an incentive for their future development.

We paid considerable attention to the new developments in the European continent and in the world, agreeing that mankind is entering a new phase, said the Yugoslav federal secretary. New efforts must be made, he added, to make the awareness of the interpendence stronger, to transfer it to the economic sphere as well, and to make it understood that the Europe of tomorrow must imply respect for everyone's interests. Greater trust and the elimination of divisions in the European continent and in the world calls for fresh steps to democratize relations, both within every country and between the states.

Our guest, he said, informed his host about his recent talks in Moscow, expressing his impression that the Soviet leadership is following the line of the reform with great resolve. The new aspirations of the top Soviet leadership in the internal and external spheres are increasing the prospects for broader and peaceful international cooperation in the future.

The host conveyed to his guest his conviction that following the Moscow talks the prospects for establishing the CSCE mandate had improved. Besides, Hans-Dietrich Genscher is convinced that after the 3 week technical break, the CSCE session in Vienna will end very soon and successfuly with the adoption of a meningful and balanced final document. The proposal put forward by the neutral and nonaligned countries, he stresses, is a very good basis for the adoption of the final document.

During the 3-day period Hans-Dietrich Genscher was very cordially greeted by the citizens of Zadar and by many West German tourists who are spending their vacations here. It is quite understandable why my compatriots come here in such great numbers, remarked the distinguished guest from West Germany when touring the sights. He said the sights were a testimony to the rich cultural past and that this part of the Adriatic is not rich in natural beauty alone. The foreign ministers ascribed the cordial atmosphere and the very successful outcome of their informal working talks this year to the atmosphere in which the dailogue was held. They were especially happy with the day-long cruise through the Kornati Archipelago. This also contributed to the exceptional cordial spirit and to the high quality of the talks, said Hans-Dietrich Genscher. He added in jest that henceforth expressions like "working sunbathing" and "working swimming" will enter the diplomatic vocabulary.

Minister Genscher invited his counterpart Loncar to pay an official visit to the FRG before the end of the year, and again next year for the customary annual working consultations between the two countries at the highest diplomatic level.

Nation's Importance Stressed

LD0608134488 Hamburg DPA in German 1214 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] Zadar (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has appealed to all 35 states of the Vienna follow-up meeting on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to "make every effort for the speediest possible adoption of a solid and balanced final document." "A conclusion is possible on the basis of the proposals of the nonaligned and neutral states," Genscher said today at the end of a 3-day working visit to the Yugoslav Adriatic town of Zadar. The CSCE negotiations were a central theme of the talks between Genscher and his Yugoslav counterpart Budimir Loncar. Yugoslavia, a nonaligned country, played a decisive part in the compromise proposals discussed in Vienna.

The two ministers described their bilateral relations as "exemplary in all spheres." Genscher underlined Yugoslavia's importance as a "stabilizing element of international politics." The German foreign minister, in connection with Yugoslavia desires for closer cooperation with the EC, said: "The EC is an open community which seeks cooperation with other states." Yugoslavia has repeatedly complained of unfavorable conditions in trade with the EC. Genscher proposed the establishment of regular political contacts between Brussels and Belgrade.

Loncar Meets Cypriot Foreign Minister

LD0708143888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 7 August (TANJUG)—Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou paid a brief working visit to our country today. In a meeting between Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, and the Cypriot Minister, an intensive exchange of views was held on bilateral cooperation, which both sides viewed positively. This applies especially to the development of economic cooperation. Commodity exchange between the two countries has developed well, amounting to about $50 million per year. It is characterized by a considerable surplus on the Yugoslav side. It was noted that this problem should be resolved by intensifying economic cooperation.

During the talks between the two minsters, special attention was paid to new developments in international relations and to the role of the Nonaligned Movement in light of the nonaligned ministerial conference to be held in Cyprus at the beginning of September. Loncar and Iakovou agreed that the profound changes in the world represented a new challenge and a new chance for the Nonaligned Movement, and they placed before the movement the need to define its views in keeping with new developments and to update its work method. Minister Iakovou informed the federal secretary about the latest developments in connection with the Cyprus question and the forthcoming talks between President Vasiliou and the leader of the Turkish community in Cyprus, Denktash, in New York.

Mikulic Sends Condolences to PRC's Li Peng

LD0808093388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0827 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic has sent PRC State Council Premier Li Peng a telegram expressing his condolences in connection with the catastrophic natural disaster in the PRC.

Youth Magazine Exposes Tomo Bogataj Case

AU0608190288 [Editorial Report] Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene No 31-32 on 29 July on pages 42-45 carries a 6,000-word report by Borut Mesko entitled "Army Post Office 133/1" on the case of Tomo Bogataj, who was sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment for hostile propaganda by a military court in Sarajevo after an alleged frame-up by the Army security service.

Borut Mesko says in his introduction that "our post-war history is full of enemies of the state who play the ungrateful role of victims of Yugoslav 'togetherness,' understood with the class logic and accompanied with militant bolshevik rhetoric. In the long run, the nationalists 'miscreants' have been simply given tribal names: 'Croats' in the early seventies, 'Albanians' in the early eighties, and now it seems that in addition to the latter, 'Slovenes' are particularly the target.

"The outburst of neo-Stalinist and anti-democratic tendencies, both in the 'military' and the 'political' spheres, found its main targets for attacks in the 'counterrevolutionary' and 'fascist' activities of the democratic public in Slovenia. It is becoming more and more clear that the aim of this conduct is to create an anti-Slovene mood in Yugoslavia and thus to provoke possible excesses in

Slovenia, which are an excuse and a pretext for repression. The 'Bogataj Case' therefore cannot be understood outside this context, and it also has its sources in scandalous legislation."

Mesko reports that Tomo Bogataj completed his studies at an electronics secondary school and passed the college entrance exams in Ljubljana, and on 17 September 1987, went to do his army service at the Kozara Barracks in Banja Luka. He never complained, "but on the contrary he always liked to boast that he was quite happy in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and that he got on well with other soldiers and also the officers." In January and February, he was entrusted with translating the chronicles of the 16th Krajiska Partisan Brigade into Slovene, and did the writing in the Brigade Memorial Room. "Having completed the army course of instruction with good marks of 4.1, he could not have had any inkling that he fell under the wheels of an infernal plan."

Mesko says that on 17 April 1988, two boys visited Tomo's girlfriend. "One of them was Anton Gosak of Ljubljana, who had served the Army in the same barracks as Tomo Bogataj, but had completed his service in March. He said that he had found her address on the letters that Tomo used to write. He told her that he would be appearing at the Military Court in Sarajevo on 20 April 1988, where he would be the only witness for the prosecution against Tomo, against whom criminal proceedings were under way for the criminal act of hostile propaganda. He had been informed about his impending court appearance by a YPA Security Service major of the Ljubljana Army District. Gosak recounted how Slovene soldiers were treated at the Kozara Barracks in Banja Luka. He had been introduced to Ales Bokalic and they became friends. Later he found out that Bokalic was an agent provocateur planted by the Security Service officers. Because Gosak considered Bokalic a friend, they talked about all sorts of things. Later, when Gosak was interrogated by Security Service officers, it became clear to him that he had been taken in by a well-planned frame-up. He found that his conversations had been recorded, and the recordings were used in evidence against him during the proceedings, as a means of blackmail. He was repeatedly interrogated, he was threatened with 7 years' imprisonment and even with the 'black hole prison' from which there is no return. He was treated inhumanely. He was not allowed to sleep for 4 days and nights. Finally he signed everything they wanted, only so he would be left in peace. He later discovered that he had signed a number of invented statements, some of which, in his opinion, exceeded the limits of reason. In return for the proceedings against him being dropped, he had to sign a statement that he will constantly cooperate with the Security Service. When he was returned to his unit, his first task was to prepare a case against Tomo Bogataj. A meeting between them was arranged, for they had never met.

"That evening, Anton Gosak told Tomo's girlfriend that he had received precise instructions from Security Service officers on how he should talk to Tomo and about what, what statements he should drag out of Tomo, and how he should obtain a confirmation of the statements he produced as an agent provocateur. Gosak said that Tomo had not trusted him immediately, and he could talk with Tomo as a friend only after some time. All the conversations prepared in advance took place in the 16th Krajiska Brigade Memorial Room in Banja Luka. Most of the time Tomo and Gosak were alone, but in order that this might not become too suspicious, another Slovene soldier was sent there from time to time. This happened during January and February of this year, and all their conversations were recorded, as the conversations in the Memorial Room generally are.

"Gosak said that he knew Tomo was innocent and was obviously framed, for Tomo would never broach the subject of intranational relations in Yugoslavia, the position and role of Slovenia in Yugoslavia, and the like. Tomo would not always join in the discussions that Gosak started as an agent provocateur, and his commentaries were most frequently in the form of jokes.

"Gosak admitted that evening that he was completely confused, that he did not know what to do, and that his conscience would not allow him to testify against Tomo, because he knew Tomo was innocent. This was also confirmed by Anton Gosak's parents. They said that Anton was completely changed when he returned from the Army and that they could not talk with him, for he never spoke about his difficulties in the YPA until Sunday, 17 April of this year, when a Security Service officer visited him at home.

"When Tomo's girlfriend informed Bogataj's father about Anton Gosak's tale, the father tried to convince Gosak that he should go to court in Sarajevo and tell the truth. But Gosak left his home on 19 April and never returned. His parents reported his disappearance because they feared Anton had committed suicide, because he had said to them he would rather disappear or kill himself than testify in court."

In a box on page 44, MLADINA carries a 400-word statement by Konrad Gosak, of 28 May Street, Ljubljana, dated 6 June 1988, which he sent to the Military Court in Sarajevo and in which he gives an account of what he had been told by his son, Anton, about the latter's experiences during his army service in Banja Luka. Mesko states in his article that Anton Gosnjak once telephoned his parents from Austria, but would not say where exactly he was.

Mesko relates that Bogataj was charged with hostile propaganda under Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code and detained. When Bogataj's parents talked with the Sarajevo Military Court president on 21 April, they were told that Gosak was the witness and that he had deposited his statement. However, the witness had disappeared before he made an affidavit and the proceedings were delayed for a month until three other witnesses were found—Rok Amon, Cedomir Zegarac, and Boris

Jansa, all residents in Ljubljana—"who, in addition to Gosak, had participated in the organized provocations by the military police in the Kozara Barracks in Banja Luka."

"The prosecutor filed a Stalinist indictment par excellence on 13 May," Mesko reports and translates the 2,400-word explanation of the indictment in full. It is signed by Major Ismet Mehic, deputy military prosecutor, and it says that Tomo Bogataj "committed a criminal act of hostile propaganda under Article 133, Section 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code.

"This is evident from the testimony of witnesses who have been examined, Rok Amon, Cedomir Zegarac, and Boris Jansa, as well as the admission of the accused which agrees with the testimony of the said witnesses.

"An analysis of the testimony shows that the accused, Bogataj, repeatedly over a period of several months, in conversations with one or several persons, deliberately and intentionally attacked what is protected by Article 133, Section 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code, to wit the power of the workers class, brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities, the social system based on self-management, and the security and defense of the state."

The indictment continues: "In essence, in front of one or several witnesses, the accused made numerous incriminating statements with a consistent content, which in their nature constitute a hostile political premise, the backbone of the premise being a pronounced hatred obviously displayed against Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, and Albanians. How great his hatred of all these and other peoples and the Communists was, is indicated by the fact that the accused expressed personal readiness to kill, at a suitable moment, members of these peoples and other 'southerners,' as he sarcastically and disparagingly called all the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia with the exception of Slovenes."

The indictment also says: "The accused, Bogataj, called for an unconstitutional change of the self-managing socialist social system in the SFRY by repeatedly stressing in front of witnesses that the true interest of Slovenia lies in forming an independent state, and further, that in his opinion, a social system molded on the Western capitalist states should be set up in such a state.

"In keeping with his hostile persuasion, the accused Bogataj was also extremely cruel and militant in calling for the destruction of brotherhood and unity, and the equality of the peoples and nationalities, which he expressed by saying that he hated Bosnians, Croats, Albanians, and others, or as he put it, the 'southerners,' and that he was prepared to kill all the Bosnians, Serbs, Croats, Albanians, and other 'southerners' and to throw them into a large pit, so that they would all rot and that manure would be produced for dunging the fields in Slovenia; that the 'southerners' were of no other use but for manure; that he would kill by burning all the 'southerners' who had found employment and settled in Slovenia, and so forth."

The indictment states that "by asserting that the YPA should be weakened and destroyed, Bogataj in fact called for resistance against the highest organs of authority in the SFRY that are important for the security and defense of Yugoslavia."

The indictment contrasts these of Bogataj's statements with the liberation struggle of the Slovene people during the revolution, when "Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and Slovenes were dying together in order to set up a socialist Yugoslavia, such as was then formed, such as exists, and such as will exist in the future." Bogataj's hatred of other peoples was "incompatible with civilized, general cultural, humane, and other reasonable human traits. The peoples and nationalities of our country and every honest person and citizen know, on the basis of what happened in the near and distant past, that each separately would not be what they are, had they not joined together as brothers under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Comrades Tito and Kardelj."

The indictment says that Bogataj admitted that "he made all the incriminating statements in order to convert the witnesses to his views, having acquired these views by reading the magazines MLADINA, KATEDRA, TRIBUNA, and NOVA REVIJA, and by listening to Radio Student, by talking with groups of pals with whom he associated, from the influence of his girlfriend (a teacher) with whom he associated, as well as by reading the writings of those closest to him."

The indictment says that Bogataj was free to think and to read what he liked, "but it is an impermissible act punishable by law if he takes messages directed against the foundations of the socialist self-managing society from the said magazines and from talks with others who think alike, and conveys these messages, as in the specific case in point, to the said witnesses so that he may win them over to his hostile views.

"This conclusion is valid regardless of the fact that it is evident from the accused, Bogataj's, defense that individuals with whom he associated in Ljubljana and articles he read in the said magazines affected him with the said hostile influence. It is a matter of respective organs and organizations investigating such occurrences more closely for the purpose of preventing them, which is particularly in the interest of young people," the indictment says.

Mesko says in his article that the trial began before the Sarajevo Military Court on 2 June 1988. The court rejected Bogataj's statement that "he had been subjected to great pressure to admit the incriminating acts of the indictment. At the trial, he did not want to talk about the

nature of the pressure, because he was afraid of the consequences. It is known, however, that this pressure involved 3 days being roughed up by the military police before the investigation proceedings started: He was hit on his sensitive organs, kidneys, and his neck." The testimony of defense witnesses, including Gosak's father, was rejected. The testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution was "generalized," and the witnesses had to admit that they did not report the accused. Tomo Bogataj was sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment on 17 June, but an appeal has been lodged against the sentence.

In a box on page 43, MLADINA carries a list of agents provocateurs at the Kozara Barracks in Banja Luka: Dejan Saviozzi framed Ales Bokalic; Bokalic framed Anton Gosak; and Gosak framed Tomo Bogataj.

Borut Mesko remarks: "Why the chain of agents provocateurs was broken precisely with Bogataj and during the time of 'special war' in Slovenia is perhaps explained by the fact that Bogataj's parents are public workers in the SR of Slovenia."

Assembly Commission Approves Draft Amendments

LD0508212388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly Constitutional Commission today approved the drafts of four amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution in the sociopolitical field. These solutions above all rationalize the procedure for decisionmaking in associated labor. A line of demarcation is more clearly drawn between management and business-related functions in work organizations. The amendments, in addition to this, democratize the election of delegates to municipal and republican and provincial assemblies.

Members of the constitutional commission proposed that obligatory decisionmaking by referendum be restricted. Thus, according to the Constitution, the statute of a work organization would be the only act which would be adopted by a referendum. [passage omitted]

It was proposed that delegates for the municipal assemblies and the assemblies of the republics and provinces be elected by direct and secret ballot but also that there be a larger number of delegates on the lists of candidates than are elected.

Delegates in the Socio-Political Chamber will be elected in the same way. Members of the Constitutional Commission did not in fact accept the amendment of Mijat Sukovic on the abolution of this chamber. In his opinion, this would be the best way to separate state and party functions. [passage omitted]

The question of the establishment of joint bases for the system of education and upbringing has also been left to the next phase of the constitutional changes. The proposal to regulate this field by a federal law adopted with the agreement of the republican and provincial assemblies was acceptable to everyone except to representatives of the Slovene Assembly. They were very insistent that this matter should be settled by an agreement reached between the republics and provinces.

The coordinating group of the Constitutional Commission in the end decided to scrap the proposed text of the amendment, in case the stubborn insistence of Slovenia brought into question the approval of the constitutional amendments as a whole. Members of the constitutional commission, except for Mijat Sukovic who dissented, supported without debate the stance of the coordinating group.

Principles on the formation and composition of courts and prosecutors offices and the principles on the election and retirement of court and prosecutors office officials will, it was established, be regulated by Federal Law.

With Miran Potrc, [president of the Slovene Assembly] voting against, the commission also accepted a solution according to which, in the event of a confrontation between republican and federal law, federal law would be applied pending a decision by the Constitutional Court.

Potrc and Ciril Ribicic took the view that, pending a decision by the Constitutional Court, the controversial [as received] republican law should not be applied, or that the Constitutional Court should specify which law will be applied until the adoption of a competent decision.

This was not accepted after it was explained that the primacy of federal law arises out of the Constitution itself, according to which republican and provincial laws and other regulations cannot be in opposition to federal law. [passage omitted]

Amendment Work Continues

LD0608113888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2233 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade 5 Aug (TANJUG)—Sometime before midnight the SFRY Assembly's Constitutional Commission approved in practical terms the draft amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution on relations in the federation, thereby giving practical shape to the text of the whole package of amendments which it will send on to the Federal Chamber.

However, the work has not been completed, because reservations by representatives of individual republics and provinces remain on parts of several amendments, while a solution still remains to be found for the election of the SFRY Presidency, because commission members have not succeeded in reaching agreement.

After a short discussion, the amendments on the Yugoslav National Bank and the system of people's banks were approved. Here it is particularly important that the Yugoslav National Bank acquires the right to propose a common monetary and foreign exchange policy, common bases of credit policy, and other regulations in these fields and is answerable to the Assembly for implementing them. [passage omitted]

An amendment on the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] was also adopted after the Slovene representative announced that the definitive agreement of this republic could be expected. The overall funds for the YPA will be established for a period coinciding with that of the medium-term plan as a percentage of national income, which will be set in the plan. Funds for YPA needs will be financed each year out of the federal budget.

For the stable financing of the YPA it will be possible by means of a federal law, as a part of federal revenues for these purposes, to introduce an income tax and a special turnover tax. This solution differs from the one in the draft in that the possibility of the federation levying a tax on personal incomes for YPA needs is ruled out, thus opening the way for agreement on YPA financing.

Amendment 29 on international cooperation, controversial from the very beginning of the work on the constitutional changes due to the solution of the provinces on international cooperation, was approved late in the evening without explicit agreement between the representatives of Serbia, Kosovo, and Vojvodina who, they announced, accepted it as a working text for further consultation. [passage omitted]

The commission did not choose to introduce a Chamber of Associated Labor in the SFRY Assembly, but at least half of the delegates in the Federal Chamber are from associated labor, while at least half of the members of the delegations in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces are from associated labor.

Federal Chamber delegates, whose base is specified more precisely than in the current Constitution, will be elected by direct secret elections in their constituencies.

In the Chamber of Republics and provinces there was a limited consensus over the adoption of economic policy measures, while proposals to give equal spheres of operation to the chambers were not accepted.

The terms of the president and the vice president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the two chambers are being extended to 41 years, as is that of the president of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court.

With Slovenia dissenting, it was decided that the federation define the bases of the taxation system. Miran Potrc proposed that the federation, apart from levying taxes on goods and services (a basic turnover tax), also assume the right to tax income, in other words the profits of domestic and foreign enterprises. This was criticized because, according to Mijat Sukovic, these are not the bases of the tax system.

Sukovic emphasized that the federation's taxation function is one of the most important questions, on which depends not only the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market but also the equality of citizens. Individual members of the commission stated that the adopted solution was not "the right one" but that they accepted it in the interest of reaching agreement.

The amendment on the SFRY Presidency seems to be "a hard nut to crack" due to the stalemate over the methods for electing its members. The commission therefore now decided to send to the Federal Chamber the undisputed stances while it continues to search for election rules.

The dropping of the LCY representative from the state Presidency was approved as well as the proposal that members of the Presidency be put forward by the SAWPS of the republics and provinces after a first round of voting on the candidates in the SAWPY.

In a polemical debate in which there were also sharp words, it turned out that a count of members of the commission itself showed that representatives of four republics and provinces do not want an election of the SFRY Presidency in the SFRY Assembly, while the others advocate precisely this. [passage omitted]

The amendment on the jurisdiction of the Federal Court was accepted despite Slovene disagreement on several points, including that the Federal Court decide on the freedoms and rights of individuals and citizens when this is established by federal law. [passage omitted]

Miran Potrc drew attention to the fact that solutions in the judicial domain are becoming a political problem. The Constitutional Commission, he stressed, has approved virtually none of the soundly-based proposals by Slovenia.

Tomorrow the Constitutional Commission is to approve a constitutional law for the implementation of the amendments and a report on the results of the public discussion on the draft amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution.

Bohinc Comments on Economic Problems

LD0508111088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0730 GMT 5 Aug 88

["V.R. Bohinc: 'If There Are No Reforms, I Will Resign,'"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 August (TANJUG)—Under the above title, the latest issue of TELEX carries an extensive interview with Rado Bohinc, the new federal secretary for the economy. Bohinc has replied to many

questions—how he decided to take on this "thankless" government department, what he talked about beforehand with Mikulic, and with [Slovene] republican senior officials, which economic policy gives us hopes for a way out of the crisis, and so on.

"I accepted office only on condition that the agreed economic policy concept continue and that constitutional and economic reforms be carried out in conformity with the proposed guidelines. Yugoslavia cannot be cured without concrete changes of the 'economic and political parts of the Constitution' and without economic reform being carried out on this basis." I won for myself the right to resign from my post if pressure in the opposite direction prevails, stressed Bohinc among other things.

As far as the easing of the burden of the economy is concerned, he believes that new economic potentials have to be mobilized. "at last 25 to 30 percent of personal (private) capital must soon be attained in the economic function, that is, in Yugoslavia's social product."

Having noted that he and Mikulic did not disagree on the way the key issues should be looked at, Bohinc pointed out that confidence in the government had been badly shaken. "In the past, the government made moves to which the businessmen reacted by shaking their head. The government deviated from the concepts which had been set, and experimented time and again in some vital areas, causing permanent unstable conditions. Not only did this create a great measure of distrust, it also produced the a priori rejection of constructive dialogue and cooperation."

Bohinc is convinced that these problems rank high among those which must be eliminated as soon as possible in the interests of better productivity and the implementation of the programmed changes. He is also convinced that they can be eliminated. If they are not, if opposite tendencies occur, he will resign as federal secretary for the economy.

Korosec Attends Igalo Institute Meeting

LD0508133488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1028 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Igalo, 5 Aug (TANJUG)—Stefan Korosec, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, took part this morning in the action conference of the LC of the Dr Simo Milosevic Health Institute in Igalo. The meeting was attended also by Slobodan Filipovic, an executive secretary in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and by Savo Sekaric, an executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro. [passage omitted]

Stefan Korosec referred to the new economic concept and announced changes for which, as he put it, a section of our economy is not equipped. However, since we have to resolve the problems, stressed Korosec, the question of the responsibility for the implementation of what has been agreed upon must be tightened, because there is no other alternative. We must continue along the road we have laid out. Korosec stressed that tourism is one of our development opportunities—we are among the 10 best developed tourist countries in the world. Korosec stressed that the actual battle for economic reform must begin on the micro scene, starting with the fight to increase the use of existing capacities, training cadres, and using our own resources. [passage omitted]

Commentary Analyzes LCY CC Session

AU0708191588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 88 p 11

[Ivica Misic commentary "A Mouthful of Worries and Sentiment," reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE—date not given]

[Text] A long time will be needed to sort out all the impressions of one of the most dramatic and, certainly one of the longest, sessions in the last 10 years.

Some people might be confused by the debate which did not lack differences of opinion, the necessary polemical duels, open disagreements, and at times even unfair behavior, while others might be dissatisfied with the outcome (depending on what people expected). But after all, according to a recipe of ours, the debate ended with the unanimously endorsed immediate tasks.

Did this unanimity that was shown after the verbal discharge demonstrate responsibility and the need to combine the greatest wisdom with the greatest usefulness, or did it demonstrate calculated cunningness telling us that we have also adopted documents in the past but have not seriously considered implementing what those documents, called for? Time will tell. In any case, this debate—often heated, contradictory and irreconcilable—has presented a clear picture of our complex and controversial relations, profound differences over many essential questions and the future of our social and political development.

In some parts of the debate one could discern a certain complaisance toward some unacceptable means and manners which were established in our political campaigns in past years and months and which should be alien and distant to the LCY at this stage of its political life. However, these elements still exist for us.

Accepting the practice of gatherings on an exclusively national basis, or even understanding such gatherings, is therefore directly opposed to the precepts of the LCY. Such gatherings have never led to brotherhood and unity, nor the relaxation or the elimination of distrust among nationalities. The LC and its leaders cannot think that they have done their part if they have only said or concluded that they have done so. They must fight to

change these dangerous devolutionary tendencies among the people, and not just in the forums in which we often sit next to one another with symbolic togetherness and "adequate representation."

The Albanian cadres in Kosovo cannot make excuses by claiming that they are not trusted, and that it is therefore better to remain on the periphery just in case the battle raises the question of their mistakes. Similarly, the hitherto difficult experiences of other peoples who live in Kosovo cannot and must not be the basis for the belief that coexistence is impossible. Is everything that is happening in Kosovo in fact not pointing to the opposite—that it would be impossible to live separately?

It was slightly surprising to hear at the plenum—and to read about it immediately after the plenum in some newspapers' hastily conducted polls on the results of the plenum—that by proposing that a coordinating body consisting of officials in charge of the implementation of tasks in Kosovo be established within the SAWP, the Central Committee really wanted to rid itself of this responsibility and transfer the hot Kosovo problem to the front organization. With whom and how can the LCY carry out this battle? Where and with what means can it fight? Are we not longing for the LC to be the party in power, for the LC to be the only true power? These are not the only controversies discussed at the last LCY Central Committee plenum. There were also controversies on the question of responsibilities and differentiation. It is understandable that these matters were raised during the discussion on Kosovo, that the responsibility of those who did not carry out their part of the job or who did it "superficially" was demanded. However, the public is surprised that it was those who fought for the establishment of concrete responsibilities in Kosovo who did just about all they could not to open the question of responsibility for the well-known "Novi Sad events."

Leading up to September, we should not waste time on internal confrontations, on strengthening personal and weakening "opponents'" positions in the forthcoming clarification of misunderstandings. This would be a crude rejection of the Presidium's positions, which were unanimously adopted by the LCY Central Committee. This would also represent irresponsibility toward Yugoslavia, something for which we are all concerned.

Kosovo Polje Meeting Critical of Plenum

AU0608142388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] About 300 residents of Kosovo Polje and other parts of the province attend a meeting of the first branch of the SAWP organization of the 16th local community of Kosovo Polje this evening, during which the political-security situation in the region was discussed. During the hitherto emotional and occasionally heated discussion, discontent with the outcome of the latest LCY Central Committee plenum was expressed. No serious improvement was achieved, and a postponement of solutions to Kosovo problems only suits the enemy.

Josip Vrhovec, Bosko Krunic, Petar Matic, and Kolj Siroka were reproached not only for disunity, but also for factionalism in the LC and there were demands to hold them responsible. It was insisted that constitutional changes must be carried out consistently because this will bring solutions to certain illogicalities in our system. Words of support were addressed to the Serbian leadership and for the efforts to make this republic equal with others.

Perhaps for the first time in several years, the meeting was attended by a larger number of Albanians.

The first reaction to the petition signed by about 200 Albanians was also heard this evening. Many claims from the petition were rejected. It is a surprising assertion that we do not invite Albanians to meetings, it was stressed tonight. It is known, however, that for every meeting we send at least 100 invitations to ethnic Albanians.

Senior Internal Affairs Officials on Kosovo

LD0708155288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—The continued activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists, the violated intranational relations, and the climate of intranational mistrust constitute one of the most essential characteristics of the complex security situation in Kosovo. This was stressed by senior officials of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs, commenting on the findings of a commission which, in the period 27 June - 20 July, was in Kosovo with the task of gaining an insight into the work of the internal affairs organs to protect the freedoms and rights of citizens.

Set up by the federal secretary for internal affairs, the commission was made up of representatives of the federal, Serb republican, and Kosovo provincial secretariats for internal affairs. It confirmed the assessment that there exists a threat to the persons and property of citizens of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities.

In their enemy activity to undermine and bring down the constitutional system and to create an ethnically pure Kosovo and a Kosovo republic, the Albanian nationalists and separatists chose constant attacks on the elementary freedoms and rights of citizens of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities as one of the basic forms of their activity. The result is, the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs senior official told the TANJUG editors, that the living and working conditions of the Serb and Montenegin population have become impossible, and so they are emigrating.

It was established that the threat to the freedoms and rights and the attacks on persons and property of citizens of the Serb and Montengrin nationalities started even before the counterrevolutionary events. They gained in intensity at the time these events broke out and immediately thereafter, but they still go on in various forms.

The objective of this activity is to create a psychosis of fear, insecurity, concern, and feeling of there not being any point in staying Kosovo any longer. The commission established that in the period between the beginning of 1986 and mid-1988, the internal affairs organs recorded 300 criminal actions that threatened the persons and property of Serbs and Montengrins, including two attempted murders; 130 physical assaults; 89 acts of criminal violence posing a threat to the freedoms and rights of the citizens who are members of another nation; 10 acts of criminal violence for enemy motives; 29 cases of provoking national, racial, or religious hatred and intolerance; 4 rapes; 9 attempted rapes; and 27 criminal attacks on sexual freedom and offences against public morals. [passage omitted]

The commission noted that the official statistics do not reflect the actual situation in the province. There are many cases of attacks, threatening behavior, threats, or ill-treatment not reported by the citizens, often because they fear victimization and possibly even more serious trouble.

The commission came to the conclusion that the activity of the state organs in the province had been stepped up since the joint session of the state Presidency and the party Presidium of March 1986 and especially since the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee. However, despite the results achieved the activity of the internal affairs organs of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities has not yet reached a satisfactory level.

It was noted that, as a rule, the internal affairs organs took more vigorous measures only after citizens had reported the attacks. Systematic measures of preventive protection are required rather than punishment for offenses.

After investigating the work of the internal affairs organs in Kosovo, the commission confirmed the basic assessment that the attacks on and threats to the freedom rights, and security of Serbs and Montenegrins are one of the basic reasons for their continued and unabated emigration from the province.

On the basis of these findings, the federal secretariat made the evaluation that the internal affairs organs in Kosovo must take immediate additional measures and lay down the direction of further resolute and constant activity to protect the persons and property of Serbs and Montenegrins.

All internal affairs organs in Kosovo must, without procrastination or hesitation, take the sort of measures that will unconditionally and quickly secure a peaceful and carefree life for citizens of the Serb and Montenegrin nationalities and of all other citizens. This, it was said during the conversation, is one of the essential conditions for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The assessment was made in the federal secretariat that members of the internal affairs organs in Kosovo must carry out the differentiation in their ranks with greater resolve and establish their own responsibility for vacilation, delays, and lack of professionalism in protecting the freedom rights, and safety of Serbs and Montenegrins in the province.

All complaints by citizens about actions taken by the internal affairs organs and their members must be investigated in detail, conscientously, and rapidly. This will help the restoration and consolidation of the citizens' confidence in the legality of the work of these organs.

It has been decided that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, in conjunction with the republican and provincial secretariats, will lay down additional methods of providing direct professional assistance to Kosovo internal affairs organs so that the security of the citizens may be protected as efficiently as possible. To achieve this, the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs suggested at the end of June that the method by which the combined Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs militia detachment in Kosovo is organized should be changed.

Bosnia-Hercegovina President Addresses Meeting

LD0708195988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Trebinje, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—Despite all the difficulties and misfortunes we are now faced with, I deeply believe that our revolutionary heritage is a stable, powerful, and lasting basis for life and work in the future. There do not exist, nor should there come into being, forces which can take away from the Yugoslav working class and the nations and nationalities of our country the great achievements and values of the socialist revolution. This was said by Nikola Filipovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, at the large Brotherhood and Unity people's meeting at Zublacki Ubli. Zublacki Ubli is where Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina meet and where in 1941 historic negotiations took place between communists from all over this region.

Dr Filipovic said that this historic event was one which has determined on a lasting basis the fate of the country, stressing that this three-border point was a line of demarcation between states and a boundary between worlds but never one between people.

Speaking about the country's current situation, he said that this is not the time for lament and investigation into causes and to blame those for all the failures, but a time for implementing economic reform.

Filipovic added that it is unrealistic to expect that we will emerge from the crisis quickly, declaring that the time has come when we have to opt for and consistently put into practice the notion that all those whose decisions and actions do not produce satisfactory results must give up their places to more creative and successful cadres. He believes that the responsibility of all subjects, in all jobs and at all levels must be tightened up. Recall and replacement in all cases of irresponsible work and behavior must be subjected to the public's judgement and become part of everyday life.

Dr Filipovic also spoke about the increasingly frequent and open attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, drawing attention to the fact that this behavior is a constituent part of the hostile attacks on our political system. These attacks, he warned, could have far-reaching consequences for the overall political security situation in the country. All the thinking about "national armies" and "doing military service as a civilian" lend weight to notions which lead to the destruction of our unity and threaten our country's territorial integrity and defense capabilities.

Dr Nikola Filipovic also spoke about counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo, stressing that it has created serious consequences for our country's internal development and international reputation. Stating that the counterrevolutionary forces must be conquered, he said that it is possible to do this both by democratic methods and repressive measures based on the law and Tito's policy of brotherhood and unity and the material security of people of all ages, from all environments, and of all nations.

The president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency also drew attention to the seriously eroded intranational relations in our country, stressing that our nations and nationalities have too bitter and bloody experiences of such chauvinists to believe them and to allow themselves to be deceived. The aggressive chauvinist propaganda and quasi-democratic parading of selfishness and exclusiveness is foreign to man's essence. He went on to talk about the wave of moral crisis which has splashed onto us, adding that we have forgotten and abandoned the moral and humanist virtues which adorned the National Liberation War fighters, the citizens and defenders of our country. The Pleiades of the great ones from this region, especially Tito's fighters, by their life and accomplishments served and will serve as an example in the struggle for morality in relations between people and nations Dr Nikola Filipovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, said at the big national meeting at Zubacki Ubli.

Filipovic on Kosovo, Attacks

LD0708223188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Trebinje, August 7 (TANJUG)—The increasingly frequent and overt attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army are an assault on the political system and could have far-reaching consequences for the country's security, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Nikola Filipovic told a public rally here today.

The ideas about "national armies" and "civilian military service" (often heard in Yugoslavia's most developed republic Slovenia) belong to a ballast of concepts which endanger the country's territorial integrity and defence capability, Filipovic said.

The head of the collective state leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina noted a serious worsening of inter-ethnic relations in Yugoslavia and stressed that its nations and nationalities have a far too bitter experience with chauvinists to trust them.

He said that counter-revolutionary activities of ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the Province of Kosovo have had grave consequences for Yugoslavia's internal development and international reputation.

On the serious crisis in the country, Filipovic said all those whose decisions and actions have not produced satisfactory results should give up their posts to more creative and capable cadres.

Recall and dismissal from post for irresponsible work must become a matter of public judgement and part of everyday life, Filipovic emphasized.

Commentary Views Republican 'Masters'

AU0508181988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 88 p 2

[Mirko Mlakar commentary: "The Temptations of Bossy Masters]

[Text] In an interview, which was otherwise rich in inspirational elements, and strengthened by the generator of our crisis—nationalism—which is generated in republican-nationalist oligarchies, for which nationalism is a lever of authority and a support for power, Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, stressed how it was necessary to clearly separate "nationalism" from "national pride." He recalled that the Cominform had called for a revolt against Comrade Tito and the leaderships of the Yugoslav Communist Party, on behalf of "proletarian internationalism." "After we refused this—thereby forging the iron homogenization of the party leadership and the people—were we not showered with epithets such as 'nationalism'?"

In this context, Stanovnik said that "he recently read Slobodan Milosevic's statement at Pozarevac with great approval: 'The leadership of Serbia is attempting to express the interests and mood of the people it represents through its present policy and the unity that it has established, and I can say to you that with regard to the struggle for these interests, we will not make any kind of concessions to anyone.' If you only replace 'Serbia' with 'Slovenia' you could attribute this same statement to me!"

Asked how he viewed the fact that "new, stronger winds are blowing" through the policy of the SR of Serbia with regard to Kosovo, Stanovnik said: "I would not like to judge the Serbian policy too much, just as I would not like the Serbs to judge Slovene policy very much. I consider that I live here and that I know my situation best of all and in the same way, I have faith in my Communist comrades, in the fact that what they are doing in their communities is the most they can do in the given circumstances. What I want for myself is the same as what I must give to another. If Milosevic says: 'We will sort out the situation in Serbia by ourselves and others do not concern us!' I say: 'You are right. That is how it should be!' However, I also want that same right for myself. I want to be the master in my own house. Therefore, in principle I have a positive attitude. Certain things do not have to please me, especially when it comes to the use of political methods, but that is already a question of taste. However, this should not influence my challenging the question of the solution and the choice of a way to solve this matter, and I will not get involved in that."

The statement "I want to be master in my own house" requires wider explanations, although, as far as Stanovnik's intention is concerned, it does not have to contain anything politically contentious. Certain explanations force the question: What is Yugoslavia and what would Yugoslavia be, if everyone were to sort out their situation solely by themselves, and without being concerned with other people? What if this "I want to be master in my own house" means I do not care about other people and about Yugoslavia, and I will waste my time with Yugoslavia only to the extent to which I sometimes have to bargain and haggle with other "masters." Perhaps these fears appear to have been overcome, and are even unitaristic, but the fact is that everyone—regardless of whether they are party and state chiefs or the "ordinary" folk—must be affected by virtually everything in every region and every community of the federation. For example, would not "giving up" Kosovo to Serbia and Milosevic alone—who, according to Stanovnik's reasoning, should be regarded as the personification of the policy of the SR of Serbia and as the "master"—be a great and dangerous step backward, since we are already solving the Kosovo problem as a Yugoslav problem?

It is possible that Stanovnik did not want to say that, but could his words about "masters" and about each one of them running his own republic (house) not contribute to a strengthening or even the further dismemberment of the federation which, as things now stand, depends on the responsibility of the federal units for its development and the development of the whole country, as if it were on a dialysis machine? Does the real possibility not exist that Stanovnik's desire for the right to be the "master" serve as his own kind of alibi for the further "homogenization" of Slovenia and will it not only encourage similar processes in the other republics? Stanovnik's statement does not, of course, have the power of a historical turning point but is it not even more indicative, because it in fact falls on ground which is too full of national-state seedlings?

If, under the wise leadership of those who "know their situation best of all" and "want to be masters in their own houses," as Stanovnik says, "Kucan's revolution" (his quotation marks) and other revolutions bearing the personal seal of the leaders in other republics were to come about, and if they were directed toward a political and different way of "making uniform," that is, homogenizing these state-nations, who would—and how would they—integrate the Yugoslav multinational state which is already dangerously disassembled? In this case would it not be totally unrealistic to expect that those who have previously "homogenized" their own republics would "homogenize" Yugoslavia? Would the extreme and logical result of this not be open and "full-blooded," and not as it is now "masked" confederalism, or a loose association of bossy masters?

Abhorring such a possible interpretation of Stanovnik's words "I want to be the master in my own house," does not in the least mean an evocation of "homogenization" and of Yugoslavia in the form of a state-(supra)nation to whose internationalist socialist glory the existing nations, republics, and autonomous provinces would dissolve and disappear, since they are a limitation and a burden.

Janez Stanovnik would have to know: If our republics were to turn to themselves more than they have done so far, then democracy—in them and in Yugoslavia—could become a matter of an inter-republic, political-populist pact and the good will of the masters. This matter would be primarily nationalist, so that, after nationalist economies, we could get nationalist democracies and nationalist types of socialism which would return us to the time of Serbian-Slovene and other coalitions. In any case, everyone would more or less ignore Yugoslavia and it would not be an "organic" entity. If it merely wants to survive, it would have to be such an entity and not simply a collection of bossy masters.

Peasants' Initiatives, Meeting Viewed

AU2607193788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 88 p 2

[Unattributed article: "New Initiatives and Movements Inundate the Peasants: The Peasant Is Not an Unreliable Ally"]

[Text] The country's media and political and economic circles reacted differently to the initiative of the young

Zalec peasants on the founding of the Young Peasants Union, and to an initiative from Ptuj calling for the founding of the Slovene Peasant Union.

The fact that the peasant forum discussion in Ljubljana was attended by over a thousand young and old farmers from various parts of Slovenia, that the forum discussion turned into a founding assembly of the union, that the founding councils turned into temporary administrative organs, and that a public statement was issued, all point to the determination of the initiators to realize their idea.

It was explained that the reason for the peasants' dissatisfaction with their position in society is an ineffective agricultural policy. The same view was expressed at the first conference of Yugoslav cooperatives, at the first meeting of Croatian cooperatives, as well as during a public discussion on changes to the Law on Associated Labor, and now on changes to the SFRY Constitution. It appears, therefore, that the motives for these initiatives are understandable and acceptable for peasants in other parts of the country, especially considering the fact that the Peasant Youth Union will work under the auspices of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Youth Organization, while the Peasant Union will work under the auspices of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP.

There could be some disagreement about the chosen form, which could remind one of some sort of peasant ghetto. However, the presence of individuals who promote alternative movements does not give anybody the right to call these initiatives a wish for a peasants' political party and for the division of power, because the real problems lie in the peasants' position in society, in an ineffective agricultural policy, in low representation in the LCY, and in a disputable affirmation of the Socialist Alliance as the front organization, never mind the modest representation of peasants in the delegate and assembly systems and their representation in the administrative organs of cooperatives and cooperative federations. The fact that, in addition to attempts to raise and make an issue of the national question, an attempt is also being made to make an issue of the question of peasants and agriculture—regardless of the fact that these matters were solved during the revolution and in AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia—means that no solution is valid forever and that the association of workers and peasants set up at that time was not sufficiently nurtured and promoted.

The essence of the problem depends on whether the conscious and organized socialist forces realize the problems of society in time, and whether they react correctly to them, or whether everything will be left to haphazardness, or even to attempts to impose some individuals who have nothing to do with agriculture to look after the peasants' problems and their status in society.

Should one be surprised by the Slovene peasants' demand and their threat to strike by stopping deliveries of livestock if the price of meat is not immediately corrected, because it is known that only 50 percent of the cost price is in the selling price?

Illusory Peace—Greater Concern [subhead]

Many peasants ask themselves why the dissatisfaction with their own position was manifested in the SR of Slovenia, the most developed socialist republic in which the agricultural policy provides the most incentives. The answer would lie in the fact the Slovene peasants compare themselves with workers and other strata of society, because their demands are greater, and because criticism is sharper there than in other republics and provinces.

In the SR of Slovenia, peasants' cooperatives are preserved best and are more rapidly affirmed with the development of savings-credit services and the founding of production associations in order to improve technological and production ties with the food processing industry and the market. This, as a form of work and pooling resources was incorporated in the Law on Associated Labor. However, the peasants demand that cooperatives return to their original principles; that the membership be substantially increased, and that the management be performed by peasants rather than others who often usurped their rights. They demand a dominant role in the administrative organs of peasant cooperatives and federations of peasant cooperatives. These demands were supported by the Slovene Peasant Union which is aware that it must transform itself into a development and business association of peasants and members of cooperatives.

We should be more concerned about the illusion of peace in other fields and the illusion of satisfaction with the present situation. It appears that the peasants in Vojvodina are happy with the fact that cooperatives are not working in most the communes, and that these same peasants, as certain individuals who are members of some forums have said, are not in favor of changing the maximum land holding either. If this is a reflection of the real state of affairs, then the question is how to, with the present land holding maximum, motivate young farmers to remain on the farm and to match both domestic and foreign competition. The land holding maximum is untenable because it is the same for pure and mixed farm households, because it is the same for the Mediterranean and flat regions. It is known that the income from a hectare of intensive cultivation in the Mediterranean region is equal to the income from 10 hectares in Vojvodina, Slavonija, and Baranja.

It would be wrong to think that Slovene peasants would significantly improve their position in society by the act of founding a union. But it is certain that this initiative will force the authorities to have more understanding for

agricultural problems and for economic and urban development problems of the village that have up to now been in the hands of local communes and voluntary contributions.

Following these initiatives, it could be expected that individuals holding the highest positions in society will not that easily term the demand for scraping the land holding maximum determined by the Constitution as a social-democratic attempt. This also refers to the unjustified fear that peasants are not capable of managing cooperative property and that a well organized market is important to them. These approaches that ignore the fact that peasants learned primarily on their farms to be flexible and rational are wrong because nobody else would cover their losses.

For instance, in the SR of Croatia where there are about 213,000 farmers paying obligatory pension and disability insurance, their delegates, who constitute the peasants' assembly and executive council, demonstrated that they know how to manage hundreds of billions of dinars very rationally and on the principle of common interest and solidarity. Is this not demonstrated by the work of the delegates to village local communes and to the councils of associated labor in communal assemblies? Unfortunately, their delegates are rare in the republican and provincial assemblies, as well as in the SFRY Assembly.

In the socialist republics and provinces where there is no expressed peasants' dissatisfaction with their position in society, there are plenty of reasons and arguments for searching for a better solution within the existing system.

Permanent Solutions [subhead]

Permanent solutions should be sought in changes to the Law on Associated Labor that are not being implemented directly as we are waiting for changes in the legal system to take place (changes that refer to the status of cooperative property and the membership as a whole). Solutions could also be found in the announced constitutional changes, in respecting the so-called peasants' amendments, and in extending the political and economic systems. It is not in peasants' interest to have a confrontation with the social sector of agriculture because neither are exceptionally successful under the existing economic conditions—but both are bothered by monopolies, territorial enclosures, and administrative measures that hinder the economic laws of the market.

The SAWP and the Communists in this organization have the greatest responsibility to organize and activate in a more flexible way this largest, and for peasants the only sociopolitical organization, particularly the parts that are of concern to peasants and agriculture, as well as small-scale production. The opposition of dogmatic forces in the system of power and political forums to these changes is particularly strong. We are being slow in abandoning the old views of peasants as a reserve, as an unreliable ally, and the remnant of the capitalist system. These views have been overcome to a greater extent in small services and small-scale production (the number of employed, the size of business premises, import of equipment and production materials, and so forth), while as as far as the maximum land holding is concerned, indecisiveness is still present at the highest level of decisionmaking and political power.

If peasant unions are founded as a form of guilds, then there is no reason not give them the same status enjoyed by associations of engineers, writers, and so forth, especially because peasants do not have their own trade union organization. The SAWP has been asked to fight for the realization of constitutionally proclaimed self-management and other rights of peasants, and to find suitable forms of organizing peasants as a guild within its system of sections and in the work of professional social organizations and citizens associations.

The direct organization of producers requires an essential transformation of cooperative federations into associations of cooperatives whose administrative organs will be predominantly composed of members of cooperatives, and the transformation of specialized services in cooperative federations and cooperatives into work communes which would be in charge of development, transfer of new technology through a solid agricultural service, and then business management at home and abroad.

The present demands that farmers as individuals participate directly, rather than through some other bodies, in the creation of the agricultural policy as well as in all organized institutions in charge of implementing agricultural policy, ranging from self-managing funds for investing in the development of agriculture and business associations, to federal funds for stimulating agricultural exports.

So far, farmers have called for their rights in the republican and provincial assemblies, because communal officials often turned a deaf ear to farmers' opinions and interests. They also raised their question in the SFRY Assembly because they were excluded from the decision-making system.

The initiatives of young and old farmers for putting into practice Kardelj's vision of self-managing pluralism organizing along the lines of interests, professional, and political groups, regarding the village and agriculture, only mean that a way out of the crisis cannot be found through old forms and methods, but through creative initiatives and activities that will release all creative initiatives and activities, as well as the working class, the peasantry, and intelligentsia.